ARCHITECTURE AT
BIJAPOOR
HART. TAYLOR

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ARCHITECTURE AT BEEJAPOOR.

THE KINGS OF BEEJAPOOR.

4 3 2 1 5 6 7 8

From a Miniature engraved in Langlès' "Monuments de l'Hindoustan."

1. Yoosuf Adil Shah.
2. Ismail Adil Shah.
3. Ibrahim Adil Shah.
4. Ali Adil Shah.
5. Ibrahim Adil Shah II.
6. Mahmood Adil Shah.
7. Ali Adil Shah II.
8. Sikunder Adil Shah.

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ARCHITECTURE AT BEEJAPOOR,

AN ANCIENT MAHOMETAN CAPITAL IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY,

PHOTOGRAPHED FROM DRAWINGS BY CAPT. P. D. HART, B.E., A. CUMMING, C.E., AND NATIVE DRAFTSMEN; AND ON THE SPOT BY COLONEL BIGGS, LATE OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY, AND THE LATE MAJOR LOCH, BOMBAY ARMY.

WITH AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE MEMOIR

BY CAPTAIN MEADOWS TAYLOR, M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S.I.

AUTHOR OF "CONFESSIONS OF A THUG," "TARA," ETC.

AND ARCHITECTURAL NOTES

BY JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.

FELLOW ROYAL INST. BRIT. ARCHITECTS.

"MALIK-I-MYDAN"—"THE MASTER OF THE PLAIN."

102847

Published for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India under the patronage of

KURSONDAS MADHOWDAS.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1866.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY EDWARD BARTLE FRERE, K.S.I., K.C.B.,

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY,

WHO, WHEN RESIDENT AT SATTARA, MADE THE PRESERVATION OF THE RUINS OF BEEJAPOOR HIS ESPECIAL CARE,

AND IN HIS PRESENT HIGH POSITION IS STRIVING, BY HIS DISCRIMINATING INFLUENCE,

TO RENDER THE ARCHITECTURE OF QUEEN VICTORIA

EQUAL TO THAT OF HER GREAT PREDECESSORS ON THE THRONES OF INDIA,

This Volume

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE Government of Bombay has at various times taken steps towards portraying and presenting to the public portions of the magnificent architecture with which the Presidency and the territories bordering on it abound. About ten years ago Captain (now Colonel) Biggs and Dr. Pigou were employed to take photographs at Beejapoor, and in Dharwar and Mysore. Subsequently, a series of plans and drawings of Beejapoor, which had been prepared under the superintendence of Captain Hart, were published for the Government under the editorship of Mr. James Fergusson; and more recently still, Colonel Biggs took for the Government a number of photographs of Ahmedabad. In February, 1865, the undermentioned gentlemen were requested by His Excellency Sir Henry Bartle E. Frere, K.S.I., K.C.B., Governor of Bombay, to form themselves into a committee, with a view of publishing the materials collected as above described, and others to be procured, in the form of a comprehensive series of volumes on the Architectural Antiquities of Western India.

THE HON. W. E. FRERE.
THE HON. A. K. FORBES.
THE HON. H. NEWTON.
THE HON. W. R. CASSELS.
SIR JAMSETJEE JEEJEEBHOY, BART.
THE HON. RUSTOMJEE J. JEEJEEBHOY.
THE HON. PREMABHAI HEMABHAI.
THE HON. JUGONATH SUNKERSETT.
REV. DR. WILSON.
T. C. HAYLLAR, ESQ.
SIR A. GRANT, BART.
W. WORDSWORTH, ESQ.
BHAU DAJEE, ESQ.
J. TRUBSHAWE, ESQ.
E. I. HOWARD, ESQ.

The expense of producing illustrated works of the description contemplated being necessarily so heavy that, even if sold at cost price, they would be within the reach of a comparatively small portion of the public, certain native gentlemen volunteered, for the honour of their country and the greater diffusion of an acquaintance with it, each to take one volume under his patronage and contribute 1000*l.* towards its publication. This volume is thus under the patronage of Mr. Kursondas Madhowdas, and two others will appear almost simultaneously with it under that of Mr. Premchund Raichund, the one containing architecture at Ahmedabad, the other, some of the principal edifices in Dharwar and Mysore. Both gentlemen are natives of Guzerat. The three volumes have been produced under the gratuitous editorship and superintendence of Mr. T. C. Hope, of the Bombay Civil Service, who has likewise presented the historical and descriptive sketch for that on Ahmedabad. It is hoped that they may ultimately be followed by three more: the first embracing the early Hindoo and Jaina architecture of Guzerat; the second, the Cave-Temples of Western India; and the third, the old cities of Wurungol, Kulleanee, Golconda, Goolburga, &c, together with the Hill Forts of the Deccan, and other miscellaneous objects of interest.

The illustrated portion of this work consists of forty-six photographs, and eleven woodcuts, taken from the magnificent series of drawings executed by Captain Hart, of the Bombay Engineers, and his able assistants, Mr. A. Cumming, C.E., Kummur-oo-Deen, and Hurichund Neelajee, which are now in the India Office Library, together with thirty-one views taken by Colonel Biggs, and the late Major Loch, of the Bombay army, a woodcut from a drawing kindly lent by Captain Meadows Taylor, and a frontispiece photographed from an engraving in M. Langlès' well-known work, which was made from a native miniature now in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris.

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PART I.

OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN ANTERIOR TO BEEJAPOOR.

BEFORE entering upon the History of the Adil Shahy Dynasty of Beejapoor, during the existence of which the magnificent memorials of its sway which form the illustrated portion of this work had their origin, it is necessary to sketch briefly, the antecedent Mahomedan power out of which this Dynasty arose; and the disruption of that power into separate independent kingdoms which, under various vicissitudes, existed until their final subversion and extinction by the Moghul Emperors of Dehli. Without this course, the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan would fail to be understood; as it was only in its second phase of divided sovereignty that that conquest became supreme in the total extinction of those local ancient Hindoo dynasties which preceded it, and eventually merged into the paramount Mahomedan dominion of Dehli.

Of the ancient Hindoo sovereignties of the Deccan there is little known, or of the extent of those several kingdoms or principalities, the names of which have transpired from time to time in inscriptions on pillars, copper tablets of grants, or from other sources; and it would serve little purpose to attempt to detail dynasties which gradually disappeared, and were succeeded by others in the untraceable waves of revolution which have passed over the country. The memorials which survive them, the Buddist Cave Temples of Karli, Ajunta, Darasew, and Ellora, and the vast extension of the latter by Hindoos; the numerous other temples of the same character, both Buddist and Hindoo, which exist in the Deccan proper, and in the countries adjacent to it—the many fine Hindoo temples, and scarped forts,—all combine to give assurance of the more than ordinary power and wealth of their designers and constructors; but are, nevertheless, untraceable as the remains of particular local dynasties, or indicative of the extent of their dominions. It is perhaps most probable that after the extinction of the Hindoo kingdom of Malwa, which attained its greatest power under its celebrated king Vicramaditya, and that of the Deccan proper under Shalivahana, both co-existent in the century before, and that following the Christian era,—the country was divided into smaller states or principalities, incapable of any prolonged existence, or of attaining that dignity which should secure them a place even in traditional history. Of these, the two last were probably the Chalukya kingdom (possessed by a Rajpoot family, whose capital was at Kulliani, a city about twenty miles south-west of Beeder, in the dominions of His Highness the Nizam), and the Yadava, Yadow, or Jadow family, of Deogurh, the modern Dowlutabad, who were unquestionably Mahrattas.

By inscriptions upon the temples and monoliths in various parts of the Canarese provinces, and Southern India, which were collected by Mr. Walter Elliot, of the Madras Civil Service, and published in the fourth volume of "The Journal of the Asiatic Society," the Chalukya kingdom can be traced up to the end of the twelfth century, and was then possibly on the decline. A new sect, termed Lingayet, dissenters from Hinduism as professed by Brahmins, and intolerant of all image worship except of the Phallic emblems, had sprung into existence; and there still exists a local tradition, that the last Prince of the Chalukya race, a convert to the new faith, abjured royalty, and became an ascetic. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the Jadows of Deogurh became possessed of Kulliani, and probably of as much of the Chalukya territory as they could hold, and were in their time the most powerful princes of the Deccan proper. Their territory may have been bounded by the sea to the west, the Tapty river to the north, with an irregular line to the east and south, representing the frontier of the powerful "Andra" dynasties of Wurungul and Beejanugger, by whom the paramount sovereignty of the whole of Southern India was most probably shared.

Whether the Jadow princes were ever as powerful as the Chalukya, may be doubted from the fact of their having left no such architectural memorials.* And it is not improbable that the sovereignty of the Deccan was divided between them and a local dynasty called Gunputi, which arose in the thirteenth century, and may have been absorbed by the Jadows, or become one of those small semi-independent states or zemindaries which were found to exist by the Mahomedans after their footing in the Deccan was established, and their conquests were extending. It is almost needless to state that from this necessarily brief summary, all mention of the great Hindoo kingdoms of the south anterior to the Christian era, or of the dynasty of which "Tagara," described in the Periplus, was the capital, or of those of which representatives, as at Mysore and other places, still exist,—must necessarily be excluded as foreign to the present subject, which concerns the Deccan alone, and those portions of the Carnatic adjoining the Deccan, which eventually formed the first independent Mahomedan kingdom of the Deccan, the Bahmuny dynasty of Goolburgah and Beeder.

In the year 1294, Alla-oo-Deen, the nephew of Jalal-oo-Deen Feroze Khiljy then Emperor of Dehli, had already distinguished himself by his talents and bravery as a commander, and was governor of the province of Kurrah, in Central India. He was rewarded by an extension of his Government; but falling under his uncle's suspicion, appears to have conceived the idea of creating an independent kingdom for himself in Southern India; and gathering together a force of 8000 cavalry, he marched for the Deccan with the purpose of attacking Ram Deo, the existing representative of the Jadow family who reigned at Deogurh, and as the descendant of a long and undisturbed line of wealthy princes, was reported to possess great riches. It is strange perhaps, that though Dehli had existed as a monarchy for nearly a century, and Mahomedan conquests had extended in all directions, no grand expedition should heretofore have been attempted to the south. It is unlikely, from the unchangeable construction of native society, the transactions of trade, and pilgrimage to local shrines, that the condition of the north and south of India should not have been perfectly well known to each other; but between the north and south extended the dense forests and jungles of the Vindhya and Satpoora hills, and the passes through these were perhaps indifferently known, and their dangers exaggerated. It is therefore impossible to withhold admiration from the circumstances of the first Mahomedan invasion of the Deccan under the youthful and daring Alla-oo-Deen; who returned with immense treasures extorted from the Rajah of Deogurh, having also obtained from him the cession of the district of Ellichpoor, in Berar, where, as the first step in the Mahomedan occupation of the Deccan, Alla-oo-Deen established a powerful garrison. Thence, marching northward, he put his uncle to death, and himself ascended the throne. During his reign more seems to have been effected for the consolidation of Mahomedan power in India than by any previous monarch; and another expedition, more famous than his own, was sent to the Deccan, under the command of Mullik Kafoor, a celebrated general. On this occasion the army consisted of 100,000 horse, which left Dehli in 1306. In 1309, another expedition, under the same leader, was formed against the Hindoo kingdom of Wurungul: and a third in the year 1310, which was of all the most remarkable, inasmuch as the Mahomedans, for the first time, traversed the whole length of the peninsula, and left a Mosque at Ramisseram, or Rameishwur, as a monument of conquest, which still exists. The booty brought home on this occasion is stated to have been 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, and 96,000 maunds of gold, with several boxes of precious stones and jewels; but in this reign the Mahomedans attempted no permanent occupation or government of the Deccan, and the end of Alla-oo-deen was embittered by accounts of the Hindoo princes having stirred up that country to arms, and cut off many of his posts. He died in 1316. Five years afterwards the Khiljy dynasty ceased to exist, and was succeeded by the third Tartar dynasty of Dehli, named Toghluk, under which the offensive operations against the Hindoo princes of Deogurh and Wurungul were renewed with great vigour: the Rajah of Wurungul losing his capital, and being sent to Dehli as a captive, and the family of Jadow being reduced to pay tribute for an estate near Guzerat, after having been banished from their ancient dominions of Deogurh. Henceforth, the provinces heretofore dependent upon Deogurh and Wurungul, appear to have become Mahomedan viceroyalties, and were governed directly from Dehli by Imperial commanders.

These conquests were in some degree consolidated by the Emperor Mahomed Toghluk, who repaired to

* The Cave Temples at the village of Kharôsa, between Kulliani and Owsah, which are comparatively unknown, were the work of the Chalukya dynasty. They are similar in design to some of those at Ellora; but they are for the most part unfinished, nor did the material admit of so much perfection of manipulation as at Ellora.

the Deccan in person, where being struck with the admirable situation of Deogurh, now called Dowlutabad, he determined upon making it henceforward his capital; and, inconceivable as it may appear, ordered that Dehli should be evacuated by its population, which should repair to the Deccan. This cruel edict was at first unsuccessful; but two years afterwards the Emperor renewed it, and himself removed to Dowlutabad with his family and officers of state, Dehli being deserted, and its miserable population perishing by thousands on their way to the new capital.

The capricious and tyrannical character of this Emperor, and the unceasing turmoil which was produced by his fruitless foreign expeditions and constant rebellions against him, were followed by the usual result in Asiatic monarchies, the disaffection of his principal officers. While the Emperor was absent in Guzerat, reducing the refractory nobles and chieftains of that province, the Hindoo princes of Wurungul established themselves at Humpi, a sacred town on the Toongbuddra river, where a new city, called Beejanugger, was built, and also recovered Wurungul itself; and a combination was made against him in the Deccan, by some of the local officers, and others from Guzerat who had taken refuge there, by whom the Imperial forces were defeated.

The head of the new combination was Zuffir Khan, a man whose origin and career were in strange variance with each other. Originally a menial in the service of Gungoo, a Brahmin astrologer of Dehli, he had, while ploughing a field, found a vessel containing gold coins which he took to his master, who, commending his honesty, examined his horoscope, which revealed in the future, accession to regal honours. He was recommended to the royal service, and a request was made by the Brahmin that, should he ever attain royalty, his own name should be associated with that of the dynasty. Zuffir Khan did not forget this promise.

The Emperor's personal attempt to suppress the Deccan rebellion, proved futile in presence of that in progress in Guzerat; and leaving the defence of the province to those still faithful to him, he returned to Guzerat. In the sequel, Zuffir Khan was eventually successful: the royal troops were defeated with great slaughter near the city of Beeder: and no further effort being made by the Emperor, the whole of the Deccan passed from the Imperial authority, and became the independent kingdom of the successful rebel who, under the title of Alla-oo-Deen-Hassan, Gungoo Bahmuny, was crowned king on the 12th of August, 1347.

From the first invasion of Alla-oo-Deen Khiljy to the accession of the first independent king of the Deccan, only fifty-three years had elapsed; and though it is impossible here to follow the particular measures and events of their domination, it is certain that great progress had been made in local government by the Mahomedans, and that the people had become reconciled to their foreign masters. The new king fixed upon the town of Goolburgah as his capital, and the designative title of the dynasty, Gungoo Bahmuny, was never afterwards changed by his successors. Zuffir Khan died in the sixty-seventh year of his age and twelfth of his reign, much beloved by his subjects. It is evident, by the enumeration of the provinces which composed his kingdom, as given by the local historians of the period, that he had gradually extended his authority over all the Imperial possessions south of the Tapty river, and that his dominion was virtually accepted by the people.

He was succeeded by his son, Mahomed Shah, whose character appears in unfavourable contrast. There is no doubt, however, that this was a very critical period for the dynasty, and that his stern vigour and able generalship preserved the new kingdom, which, in other hands, might have reverted to Dehli, or fallen under the combined attacks of the Hindoo princes of Wurungul and Beejanugger. As yet the resources of the two great Hindoo kingdoms had not been materially diminished; and united they presented a very formidable combination against the local Mahomedan power. Nor was it long before this power was to be severely tested; and the occurrence out of which the first memorable war between the Bahmuny king and the Rajah of Beejanugger arose, is too remarkable—as characteristic of the rude character of the times, the arrogance of the Mahomedan king, and the inherent fanatical hatred and contempt for all "infidels"—to be omitted here.

While rejoicings for a successful campaign against the Prince of Wurungul were being celebrated with great pomp at Goolburgah, the king, enchanted with the performances of a troop of minstrels, gave them in reward an order for a large amount upon the treasury of the Rajah of Beejanugger. This order was detained a day by the minister who wrote it, under the supposition that it might have been directed by the king when under the influence of wine; but on ascertaining the next day that it had not been despatched, the king is reported to have said gravely:—"Think you that a word ever escapes me without a meaning? The order I gave arose, not from

intoxication, but from serious design." The document was accordingly dispatched, and received with contempt and defiance: the royal messenger was paraded through Beejanugger on an ass, and sent back loaded with insult; and the Rajah forthwith marched to his frontier town of Adoni with an army of 30,000 horse, 3,000 elephants, and 100,000 foot. The siege of the royal fort of Moodgul followed, the garrison of which was put to the sword, with the exception of one man who escaped to tell the tale of massacre, and who himself was executed by order of the king for cowardice in having abandoned his comrades. The massacre at Moodgul aroused the fanatical spirit of the Mahomedans to the utmost, and the war assumed a sacred character. A "Jehad," or crusade, was preached in the mosques at the capital; and the king swore a solemn oath on the Koran "that he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death 100,000 of the infidels, in revenge for the slaughter of the faithful who had suffered martyrdom." Accordingly he marched southwards in the month of January, 1368, and crossed the river Krishna at the head of only 9000 chosen horse, having sent back the rest of his army, under his son, to Goolburgah. Pursuing his march, the king fell upon the Beejanugger army after a severe storm of rain, when its elephants were useless on account of the mud, and routed it wholly with immense slaughter: 70,000 of "the infidels" are said to have then fallen; and it is recorded by the native historian of the period, that among the spoils were three hundred gun carriages, this being the first evidence on record in India, that field artillery was in use among Hindoos at that period. The capture of these guns induced the formation of an artillery service in the Mahomedan army; and in the campaign which followed they were manned by "Turks and Europeans," and, it is said, did excellent service in the field, besides being linked together, by chains and ropes, to form a protection by night for the camp.

After some indecisive battles and skirmishes, during which the Mahomedans for the first time invaded the territory of Beejanugger, the armies met; and on the 29th of August, 1369, the Bahmuny king obtained another decisive victory, though with severe loss. His adversary retreated; and the Mahomedan king, slaughtering the people of the country without mercy as he went, followed him to his capital, around which the work of devastation and massacre continued with such pitiless fury, that the people of Beejanugger rose against their own prince, and forced him to enter into negotiations with the king. All offers on the part of Beejanugger were, however, haughtily refused until the musicians, who had accompanied their royal master, were paid in full the amount of his original order. This singular humiliation of his enemy having been effected, a peace was concluded which lasted many years. It is gravely stated by the historian, that in this war "five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the sword of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages."

Mahomed Shah Bahmuny reigned seventeen years, and there is no doubt that by his stern vigour and ability, the Mahomedan power in the Deccan was consolidated and established on a much firmer basis than before. The neighbouring Hindoo princes became tributary to him, and acknowledged the paramount power of the Bahmuny kingdom. A wise and beneficent local administration prevailed; trade and cultivation flourished; and the wealth of the State was increased beyond all former precedent, while all scattered conquests became united under a powerful and prosperous government.

Mahomed Shah was succeeded by his son, Mujahid, by whom the hereditary quarrel with the Rajah of Beejanugger was renewed. Both parties laid claim to the Dooab, a rich district lying between the Krishna and Toombuddra rivers; and during the war which ensued, the Rajah of Beejanugger was again defeated, and his capital was even for a time occupied by the king; but no material impression was made upon the Hindoo kingdom—which, at this period, included the greater part of the southern provinces of the peninsula of India—and the king was forced to retire homewards. On the march he was assassinated by his uncle, Dawood Shah, after a reign of only three years, the greater part of which was occupied in this fruitless campaign.

The accession of Dawood Shah was opposed by many parties; and shortly after he ascended the throne he was assassinated, at the instigation of the late king's sister, a determined woman, who, after defeating an attempt to place Dawood Shah's son on the throne, succeeded in obtaining it for Mahmood, the youngest son of Alla-oo-Deen-Hassan, of whom she was the guardian. The reign of this king proved eminently peaceful, and beyond one slight provincial insurrection, no warlike operations were needed. Continuous communications were constantly interchanged between the King and the Prince of Beejanugger; his tastes in arts and literature attracted to his court eminent poets and artists from all parts of India, Persia, and Arabia, and

the celebrated poet Hafiz was invited from Persia; but owing to sufferings from sea sickness was unable to complete his journey. It is stated, to the honour of this monarch, that during a terrible famine he employed vast numbers of carriers at his own expense to bring grain to Goolburgah, which was distributed gratuitously to the poor; and that he established orphan asylums and schools in various cities of his dominions. It is a remarkable fact also, that he had only one wife, to whom he was entirely faithful. In all respects, therefore, Mahmood Shah I. presented a happy contrast to his fierce and lawless predecessors; and his reign of nearly twenty years brought not only to his own kingdom, but to the Deccan and the whole of the South of India, a period of peace and rest, which it had not experienced, it may be said, for centuries. He was succeeded by his son Gheias-oo-Deen, who gave promise of displaying his father's virtues; but in the course of a month, he was treacherously blinded and thrown into prison by Lalcheen, a confidential minister of the palace, and his brother, Shums-oo-Deen, was raised to the throne by the combined influence of the Queen mother and of the minister, whose authority for the time was paramount.

This irregular succession, however, endured for a very brief period only. The late Dawood Shah had left three sons, of whom Feroze, the second, and Ahmud, the youngest—the eldest having previously been deprived of sight and confined—forthwith conspired against their cousin, but were defeated in a first attempt against the capital. It is related by Ferishta, the historian, that as the brothers sat alone on a terrace, deliberating as to whether a renewed attempt would be feasible, a mad Fakeer approached them, and cried to Feroze, "Arise! I am come to conduct you to Goolburgah, and make you a king." Addresses of this description have not unfrequently been accepted as omens under like circumstances, and this appeal in the present instance proved encouraging. Feroze and his brother returned to the capital, where a reaction in their favour arose against Lalcheen and the Queen mother. Shums-oo-Deen was deposed; and Feroze, girding on the famous sword of Alla-oo-Deen Gungoo, ascended the throne under the title of Feroze Shah Roze Afzoon, Gungoo Bahmuny. One of his first acts, after imprisoning Lalcheen, was to send for Gheias-oo-Deen, who had been blinded, and make over Lalcheen to him; and he was forthwith slain by the blind prince with one stroke of his sabre, after which, Gheias-oo-Deen proceeded to Mecca, and resided there till his death.

In many respects Feroze Shah Bahmuny's character was a most remarkable one; and under his rule the kingdom attained its highest power and wealth. It may be said of him, that he was truly the "merry monarch" of the Deccan. A man of strong will and passions, yet generous, hospitable, frank, and just. After transacting the business of the day with minute and painstaking application in all departments, he devoted his evenings to amusement, laying aside all state ceremony, and encouraging the free intercourse of all who would contribute to the general harmony of these social gatherings. The histories of this reign, which are deserving of all credit, abound in anecdotes of the king's wit and intelligence, as much as of his justice and beneficence. The immense extent of his harem and free use of wine are accorded to him as royal indulgences to which, by his temperament and never-failing good humour, he was entitled; while poems, songs, and ballads in his honour, anecdotes, and romantic adventures—still live among the people of the Goolburgah province even at the distance of nearly five hundred years, and are sung or recited by many a wandering minstrel or professional dancing girl at local festivals.

By him the city of Goolburgah was much enlarged and beautified; and the Feroza Palace in the Fort—now a shapeless ruin—erected, and adorned with painting and gilding which surpassed all former magnificence. Before this palace a large sheet of water was formed by a dam outside the fort walls: upon which, according to local tradition, illuminated boats floated every night, discharging fireworks and bearing bands of singers and musicians, whose strains, mellowed by distance, charmed the nightly assemblies of guests in the royal pavilions. Upon the spot where the mad devotee had bid him arise and come to Goolburgah to be made a king—a terrace at a ferry of the river Bheema—Feroze Shah erected a palace, the ruins of which are very extensive: and near it founded the town of Ferozabad, which still flourishes. It was a pleasant place for a gay monarch; overhanging the broad stream of this noble river at a spot where a long, deep reach commences, upon which boats could represent sea-fights, or carry fireworks and musicians, as at Goolburgah, besides affording royal pastime in fishing. In this retreat we read that there were separate pavilions for ladies of all nations—Arabians, Georgians, Circassians, Turks, Russians, Europeans, Chinese, and of all provinces of India which are remarkable for beautiful women; and it is reported that the king could converse with each lady in her own language. Feroze

Shah was tolerant of all religions; and his Hindoo subjects enjoyed, probably for the first time since the Mahomedan conquest of their country, complete immunity from fanatical persecution on account of their faith. He was fond of reading the Old and New Testaments; but he preferred the creed of Islam to any other.

Under all his devotion to pleasure, warlike ardour was not wanting in the king. When, in 1398, Deo Rái, the restless Prince of Beejanugger, marched once more into the Dooab, to recover this often-disputed territory, together with the royal forts of Moodgul and Rachore, and establish the Krishna as a frontier, Feroze Shah met him with a division of his army on the bank of that river. While preparations were made for crossing, a fanatic volunteered to surprise the Hindoo prince at night and put him to death. This treacherous proceeding seems to have been accepted without compunction, and it was successful as regarded the son of Deo Rái, who was stabbed, while witnessing the performances of buffoons, by the fanatic who pretended to act with them. The Hindoo camp fell at once into disorder; and this enabled the Mahomedans to cross the river during the night without opposition. A fearful rout ensued; the Hindoo camp was plundered of all its treasures, and the Prince of Beejanugger once more followed up to his capital, where peace was concluded, a heavy sum being paid for the expenses of the war and redemption of captives; and it is remarkable, in contrast with the cruel and brutal conduct of his predecessors, that Feroze Shah released, unconditionally, all Hindoo captives who were unable to pay ransom.

In the year 1401, negotiations between the Emperor Teimoor and Feroze Shah were opened by the former; and on proffers of aid being made by the latter, accompanied by requests to be granted the then existing Mahomedan kingdoms of Malwah and Guzerat—royal firmans or deeds of sovereignty were forwarded to Goolburgah by the Emperor. It was impossible, however, that such a transaction, which had for its object the partition of the Mahomedan provinces of India, could be concealed; and the kings of the two threatened portions opened communications with the Rajah of Beejanugger, offering coalition with him against the Bahmuny State. The effect of this upon the vain Hindoo prince was to cause him to delay his payment of tribute to Feroze Shah, which in itself would inevitably have brought on a war; but it arose from another and curiously romantic incident, of which there is no reasonable doubt.

A goldsmith of the town of Moodgul had a daughter of great beauty; who, being seen by a Brahmin, an itinerant professor and teacher of singing and dancing, was adopted by him as a pupil and instructed in those accomplishments. Although the girl seems to have shared her teacher's ambitious designs, yet on his proceeding to Beejanugger, where her beauty and accomplishments were duly set forth, and messengers dispatched from the Rajah demanding her to be sent—she refused the gifts forwarded, and resolutely declined any overture from the prince himself; confiding to her parents, that she felt it to be her destiny to become the wife of a king of the Mahomedan faith. Enraged at the failure of his mission, the Hindoo prince, in defiance of the remonstrances of his officers, dispatched a body of horse to Moodgul to obtain possession of the girl by force. The result of the raid was unsuccessful; for the people took alarm at a supposed renewal of frontier disturbances and fled, and among them were the goldsmith's family. As soon as troops could be assembled by the local governor, the marauders who, in revenge for their disappointment, were plundering the country, were attacked in turn, and Feroze Shah hastened to support his deputy in person. Beejanugger was invested, and its prince reduced to such straits that he was forced to propose a second ignominious peace, by the payment of a large sum and the cession of the fort and district of Bunkapoor as the dowry of his daughter, who was demanded by Feroze Shah in marriage.

It was impossible that humiliation could go further than this. The repugnance of a Hindoo of the solar race, the descendant of demigods, the records of whose ancestry extended to the dim ages of remote antiquity, to give a daughter in marriage to a Mahomedan—can perhaps hardly be realized; but once determined upon, as indeed unavoidable, the ceremony was performed with all pomp, and is to this day the subject of many a descriptive ballad in the resonant Canarese language of the country. As he went from his camp to the city to claim his bride, Feroze Shah was met by Deo Rái; and from the gate of the city to the palace, the road was strewn with cloths of gold, velvet, and satin, the two monarchs riding together on horseback between ranks of beautiful boys and girls who waved plates of incense above their heads. On their arrival at the palace gates, the monarchs dismounted, and together ascended a noble litter adorned with jewels, and were so carried onwards.

The feasting continued for three days; but, according to Hindoo custom, Deo Rái did not escort his guest back to his camp, at which Feroze Shah took deep offence and vowed revenge hereafter; nor indeed, under the humiliation of the Hindoo prince, did this marriage appear at all likely to have any effect in the maintenance of peace. As to the maiden on whose account the war begun, when she was afterwards brought to Feroze Shah, her beauty and acomplishments were found to be so transcendent that he resolved to marry her to his son; and the ceremony was performed with that magnificence and pomp which, as characteristic of this monarch's profuse hospitality, has never been forgotten, and, like his own marriage, survives in many a local tale and legend.

But the close of the king's reign was overclouded with disaster. In his turn he was the aggressor against his father-in-law, Deo Rái, and Feroze Shah suffered a memorable defeat. His constitution was probably exhausted by excess, for there were on this occasion no indications of that spirit which was at first so remarkable; and under the effects of a lingering illness, his intellect became seriously impaired. During this period his brother, Ahmud Khan, who had hitherto been faithful to him, was joined by the majority of the army and nobles, and succeeded in defeating two servants of the king, who were exercising, and perhaps abusing, the royal authority. On Ahmud Khan's arrival at the capital, he found his brother, the king, in a dying state; but being recognized, was desired by him to ascend the throne, in obedience to the popular demonstration. Ten days afterwards Feroze Shah died, on the 25th of September, 1422, having reigned, gloriously for the most part, nearly twenty-six years.

Feroze Shah's voluntary act, in relation to the succession, had deprived his son Hassan of his right to the throne; and it was a remarkable trait in the character of the new king that, according to the savage practice of all Mahomedan kings of India, this Prince was not blinded or put away in close confinement. On the contrary, his father's palace at Ferozabad was assigned to him as a residence, and little restriction placed upon his movements. This humane conduct on the part of Ahmud Shah appears the brighter in contrast with his proceedings against the Hindoos, which, if it were possible, exceeded the savage brutality of Mahomed Shah; indeed, the desire to excel that truculent monarch in his zeal for the faith of Islam, and so to obtain the title of Wully, or Saint, which was afterwards adopted by him, seems to have been the paramount consideration of his life.

It appears to have been impossible for any Bahmuny king to live peaceably with his Hindoo neighbours of Wurungul and Beejanugger; and as soon as security was obtained for the northern frontier, a large army was marched against the hereditary enemy, Deo Rái, who still survived. In this campaign both monarchs experienced narrow and romantic escapes. Deo Rái was surprised by some marauding Mahomedans when sleeping near a field of sugar-cane: and having taken refuge in it, almost naked, was obliged by the soldiers, to whom he was unknown, to carry a bundle of it before them, and thus he eventually escaped. The danger of Ahmud Shah was, however, greater, for having in the ardour of the chase outridden his escort, he was surprised by a large body of the enemy, who, sworn to destroy him, had been watching his movements. By this body he was chased into a slight cattle-fold on the plain, and with his few attendants had to defend the place against fearful odds. He was nearly overpowered, when his armour-bearer, with a body of troops, chanced to see the *mêlée*, and came up in time to save the survivors, who in their turn charged the enemy and routed them. In no campaign, perhaps, had the Hindoos suffered more horribly than in this. "Wherever he went," writes the historian, "the king put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made "between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty "thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down also, "the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the Brahmins." Eventually, Deo Rái was obliged to sue for peace; and sent his son to the king with presents, who was not only honourably received, but became the guest of the king for a great portion of his way back to Goolburgah.

This war was followed by a grievous famine. It is mentioned, to the credit of the king, that he increased the pay of his troops, and opened the royal stores of grain for distribution; but the famine continuing a second year, the people cried out that it was a judgment of God against the king's horrible cruelty in the war. Whereupon he humbled himself in the Great Mosque, and prayed for rain, which falling soon afterwards, the title of Wully, or Saint, was first accorded to him.

Scarcely a year passed without war in some quarter or other of his dominions against frontier neighbours;

but while in Berar, the construction of the fort of Gavul, or Gawilgurh, is mentioned as having been completed. This stupendous fortress was built upon a mountain which juts out from the main range of the Satpoora chain, and is connected with it by a narrow neck of rock; and the fortifications, which are carried round the edge of the natural basalt scarp, are imperishable monuments of the costly labour which was bestowed upon them. There is also a handsome mosque in the fort, a house for the commandant, and many tanks, formed by dams thrown across gullies of the mountain, which contain a never-failing supply of water. The top of this mountain is upwards of 2000 feet above the plain of Berar; and at the height of nearly 4000 feet above the sea level, enjoys a very temperate climate, as does also the extensive table-land north of the fort, which is inhabited by Gônds, and Gäolees, or cattle-herders. The splendid upper gate of the fort of Narnalla, further westward on the same range, and most of its walls and bastions, mosques and barracks, are also attributed to this king. It will be remembered that both these forts fell to the Duke of Wellington in the first Mahratta war of 1804, that of Gawil having been taken by assault.

The most remarkable event, however, of this reign was the change of capital from Goolburgah to Beeder. On his return from the northern campaign, in 1426, the king chanced to halt at Beeder, which, though the former Hindoo capital of that country, was probably a small, though very ancient provincial town; and in a hunting excursion, found a site for the new city, which was forthwith commenced. The fort was finished in the year 1432, and is one of the grandest monuments of the Bahmuny dynasty existing. It occupies the angle of a table-land which trends westward and southward, and breaks almost precipitously into the plain. The surface rock is laterite, which was easily worked and cut into blocks ready for building, and hardened in the sun and air. The walls and fausse braye of this fort are not only scientifically constructed with regard to attack and defence by artillery, but the ditch possesses a feature which is nowhere else observable, inasmuch as in the entire breadth two walls of laterite as high as the crest of the counterscarp have been left as defences, which rendered the ditch absolutely impassable by an enemy; for it would be impossible, under a fire from the rampart and fausse braye, and flanking fire from bastions, to pass two such obstacles, each of which would have to be ascended and descended in succession after the counterscarp, before the fausse braye and rampart were reached.

In point of situation and salubrity, the new capital far exceeded Goolburgah; and, except Mandoo, there is no finer site for a city, perhaps, in India than Beeder. Occupying, as it does, the edge of the plateau, there is an uninterrupted view to the east and south over the plain and valley of the Manjera; while to the west and north, the scenery of the table-land is diversified by groves of mango trees and fertile villages; and whether in the valley below, or on the plateau, the soil is rich and productive. While Goolburgah is comparatively low and hot, Beeder, from its elevated position, enjoys a much more equable and temperate climate; and its water, probably from contact with the ironstone of the laterite, is esteemed healthy and strengthening. The exact date of the establishment of the new capital is not recorded; but as Ahmud Shah died there on the 19th of February, 1435, it is probable that he never returned to Goolburgah as his capital; and that after the completion of the fort, and some of the royal palaces at Beeder, the new city speedily arose about them.

From this period Goolburgah began to fall to decay; and from the first had contained no very remarkable Mahomedan buildings. The tombs of the earlier monarchs are plain domed structures without any particular features, and occupy a rising ground near a small sheet of water, which has a pretty effect in the landscape. The fort is strong, but heavy in design; of the usual style of construction, a broad dry ditch, a rampart and fausse braye, with machicolated parapets loopholed for musketry. All the forts of the Bahmuny dynasty, however ancient, are built upon the same plan, and prove the early use of musketry and wall-pieces in the defence of fortified places in the Deccan. In the fort are the remains of the great mosque, which, if finished, would certainly have been the largest and most beautiful in the Deccan, and in its general style accords more perhaps with the Moorish mosque at Cordoba than any other specimen of Indian Saracenic Gothic building. Very massive ruins of palaces lie around the mosque; but they are overgrown with creepers and brushwood, and the great halls of audience, where the royal throne, called the "Tahkt Feroza," from its beautiful turquoise blue enamel studded with diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, the plunder of thousands of "infidel" temples, was placed—with the "soul delighting" pavilions of the pleasure-loving Feroze Shah—are no longer recognizable. These, with some scattered mosques and mausolea, and the fine tomb of Syud Geesoo Duráz, the "saint of the long locks," and college attached to it, are the only memorials of this haughty and wealthy dynasty at its first

capital, which was speedily eclipsed by the splendour and convenience of the new. Goolburgah is still a prosperous town, the central portion of the old city never having been forsaken. It is the head of a province, and has a considerable trade in cotton and other products of the adjacent very fertile and well-cultivated country. There are also manufactures of muslins, brocades, and especially of embroidery, by the descendants of artisans, many of them Mussulmans, who settled there five hundred years ago in the early times of the Mahomedan occupation.

The next king, Alla-oo-Deen Shah Bahmuny II, was crowned at Beeder immediately on his father's death; and though the chronicle of his reign is not wanting in wars, that with the hereditary enemy, Deo Rái of Beejanugger being of the usual prominence, it is refreshing to find records of domestic improvement and of general humanity. The king, we are told, was averse, during his life, to passing sentence of death upon any one; and even the "infidels" of Beejanugger seem to have been spared the usual consequences of defeat. An infirmary for the poor was erected at Beeder, and endowed with grants of land; and a hospital attached to it, which was provided with Hindoo and Mahomedan physicians. Justice was cared for by the establishment of proper tribunals in every district, and "censors of morals" were appointed, who prevented the sale and use of spirituous liquors, and other intoxicating substances. Idle and vagabond devotees and beggars were put to hard work as scavengers till they were reclaimed, or were driven out of the country; and the general and rural police established on a liberal and advantageous footing. It is curious to read in the history of this reign, that the king would not converse with Nazarenes, or Brahmins, nor would he allow them to hold civil offices; but as to who these Christians who travelled or served in the Deccan were, or what was their calling, no trace remains, except the curious journal of Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian Armenian, who, in 1470 visited Beder as a travelling merchant. Mahmood Shah II. was then king; who is represented to be "a little man twenty years old," with an immense army of 300,000 men, but in the power of his nobles, many of whom had independent forces. The king's palace was magnificent, every thing being carved and gilt, and in it there were several Courts of Justice. The country was populous, a village existing at every koss (two miles), which is about the present rate. Elephants clad in steel armour, with scythes fastened to their tusks were used in war. There was considerable trade also. The whole account of a four months' residence is very interesting. It may be conjectured, that the trade between the Levant and India, especially with Venice, attracted Europeans to the regal courts of Goolburgah and Beeder, even at an earlier period than the reign of Alla-oo-Deen Bahmuny II, and his contemporary, Henry VI. of England.

Little impression seems to have been made as yet upon the wild woody regions of the Western Ghauts and the Konkan; and beyond building a few forts and maintaining garrisons to check predatory raids, the kings of the Bahmuny dynasty had not established actual control over the hardy mountaineers of those tracts. In the year 1453, however, an expedition was fitted out to reduce the petty rajahs of the sea-board; and one of them, Sirkay, pretending to be faithful to the king's interests, led the royal army into dense forests, where it was destroyed—almost to a man. The attempt to subdue these local princes, or to establish Mahomedan government in the Konkan, was not renewed till many years later, and then, as will be shown hereafter, with a similar, but even more disastrous result. The reign of Alla-oo-Deen is one of the longest of the Bahmuny dynasty, and lasted nearly twenty-four years. He died of a mortification in his foot, in the year 1457, and was succeeded by his son Hoomayoon, surnamed Zalim, or the Cruel; a bloody, savage miscreant, whose happily short reign was one continuous scene of war, murder, and torture, from the details of which even the Mahomedan historian shrinks with horror. He was assassinated, as was believed, by his servants, "who were wearied out by his cruelties," during a fit of intoxication, on the 3rd of September, 1461, and left a son, Nizam Shah, during whose minority a regency was formed which proved equal to the emergency. At its head was the queen mother, a very able woman; and Khwaja Jehan, and Mahmood Gawan, two of the most remarkable men the dynasty had produced, were the other members. As might be anticipated, the Hindoo princes on the eastern and southern frontiers, incited by the youth of the king, almost immediately combined to attack Beeder, and recover disputed territory; but they were beaten back with heavy loss, the queen mother, with her son and her two advisers and chief generals, being present with the army in the field. No sooner was the war ended, than Mahmood Sultan of Malwa, invaded the Bahmuny territory on the north frontier, with a large force. The young king was again in the field, and behaved with much valour;

but his army was defeated, and Sooltan Mahmood, following up his success, took possession of the town of Beeder, from which the queen and the court had retreated to the palace at Ferozabad, on the Bheema. There can be no doubt that the Bahmuny dynasty would have been ended by this misfortune, had not the King of Guzerat marched to the defence of the royal fugitives. By pushing on a force of 20,000 fresh troops, he compelled the Sultan of Malwa to raise the siege of the fortress of Beeder, which had proved impregnable, and commence a retreat, which was fatal to the larger portion of his army. It was then that the light Deccany horse, under Mahmood Gawan, hung on the flanks and rear of the Malwa army, cut off their supplies, and gave them no rest by night or by day, refusing all invitations to a general engagement. During the latter part of his march, through the wilds of Gondwana, thousands of the Sultan's army perished of thirst, and the survivors reached their own country with difficulty. An attempt was made in the following year by the same king to retrieve his losses; but the friendly King of Guzerat again interfered, and the retreat of the Malwa forces followed.

Nizam Shah Bahmuny had borne his part in all these events, and had become a youth of great promise; but while preparations for his marriage were in progress, he died suddenly, on the 29th of July, 1463, after a reign of two years and a month, and was succeeded by his brother Mahomed Shah Bahmuny II, then in his nineteenth year, when the originally formed Regency continued. During the reign of Nizam Shah the faith of Khwaja Jehan had been suspected. Having secured the employment of his colleague on the frontier, his treacherous conduct now admitted of no doubt, and the Queen mother urged his destruction on her son,—a measure which the boy fearlessly carried out. On the minister's appearance at the daily court he was denounced by the king himself, and instantly killed by Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, one of the attendant nobles. Henceforward, Mahmood Gawan and the queen conducted the Government conjointly, and with great wisdom and moderation.

During this peaceful interval, Mahmood Gawan had opportunity and leisure to mature his reforms of the fiscal affairs of the kingdom: of these, even to the present day, traces are found in local village records, which prove them to have been eminently wise and necessary. By these village surveys, as they may be termed, the estates of proprietors were registered and assessed; the valuation assessments of village lands, townships, and counties recorded; a simple system of collection of revenue established; and the boundaries of all village lands defined and determined. It was probable that the old system of farming out districts was abandoned for one which would at once check the collections, and at the same time protect the people from extortion; and the effect of the new arrangement soon became evident in the general prosperity. In addition to reforms in revenue management, the affairs of the army were put under an amended system, both as to the regular pay of the troops and the amount of pay to each rank, from the private soldier to the commander. The rates were liberal, though not profuse; but exceeded very considerably those of similar troops in the British service in our own time. Instead of governors of provinces, as heretofore, being allowed to appoint their own soldiers, and garrison the forts within their several jurisdictions, the royal troops were sent direct, and paid regularly from the royal treasuries. No one could object to any of these reforms, which evidently secured the interests of the State; but it may be imagined that among the many corrupt and profligate officers of the Deccan court, heretofore accustomed to revel in general peculation, the minister found many bitter enemies, and by them, in the sequel, he was overthrown.

The career of the young king was a busy and warlike one. He led his armies against the Rajahs of the eastern portions of Telingana, and conquered the country as far as Orissa and Masulipatam. In the opposite direction the port of Goa, and others on the western coast being now held by the royal troops, the dominion of the Bahmuny dynasty extended from sea to sea across the peninsula; and at no period since its origin perhaps, had it been possessed of so much territorial power, or had that power been so well regulated. Under Mahmood Gawan's wise foresight, every contingency seemed provided for; and utterly unselfish and incorruptible as he was himself, it would seem as if he had either expected the same moderation in others of his own rank in the State, or suspecting them, had established checks by which their habitual dishonesty was rendered impossible of exercise. This restraint eventually became unendurable by a large proportion of the factions. That of the Deccany and Abyssinian nobility and officers, the anti-ministerial party, had for its head the celebrated Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, whose family afterwards became independent, and who then possessed great influence with the king. It was this person who, when the young king had denounced Khwaja Jehan as a traitor, cut him down in the boy's

présence, and afterwards rose to wealth and honour through the influence and aid of the person against whom he was conspiring. It was impossible, however, to detect a flaw in the minister's honesty, or even to poison the young king's mind by throwing out suspicious inuendos. Treachery was therefore resorted to; and an impression of the minister's private seal having been made upon a sheet of fair paper by the servant in whose charge it was, while intoxicated for the purpose, the confederates had a treasonable letter written upon it, purporting to be from Mahmood Gawan to the Rajah of Orissa, declaring himself "weary of the king's cruelties and debaucheries, and willing to share the kingdom with the Rajah, if he would join him with an army." This forged letter was shown to the king by confederates in the conspiracy; and Nizam-ool-Moolk being present, availed himself of the opportunity to traduce the minister's character with such effect, that, entirely losing command of his temper, and being already intoxicated with wine, the king summoned his aged servant to his presence, and reproaching him with his perfidy, ordered his immediate execution. Mahmood Gawan met his doom with the calmness and dignity which were characteristic of his irreproachable life. "The death of an old man," he said, "is indeed of little moment, but to your majesty it will be the loss of your character, and the ruin of an empire." No reply was given; and as the king retired into his private apartments, a negro slave drew his sabre and advanced. The venerable minister knelt down with his face towards Mecca, and in the act of repeating the Mahomedan creed, calmly received the fatal blow. He was then in his seventy-eighth year.

No servant of the Bahmuny state had ever displayed the ability and unvarying integrity of this noble person. From first to last his conduct had been not only above suspicion, but immeasurably superior in intellectual quality and statesmanship to all his contemporaries and predecessors. In his habits he was frugal and unostentatious, contenting himself with the plainest fare, and abjuring every luxurious enjoyment. Again and again he had voluntarily given up all the wealth he possessed to the service of the State, and whatever he could save was devoted to charitable purposes, and the endowment of religious and benevolent institutions. The noble college at Beeder was erected by him, of which—though part of the front and the south side was destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder at the occupation of Beeder by Aurungzeeb—enough remains, in a stately minaret, and the north and west sides, to show its extent and costly execution. The traveller who now visits Beeder, will be taken, if he be acquainted with the history of the place, to a plain mausoleum on the south-west side of the city, which is the tomb of Mahmood Gawan the Just, and will hear many affecting anecdotes of his admirable life, which still survive the lapse of nearly four hundred years. He died on the 5th of April, 1481; and over the doorway of his tomb are inscribed two Persian lines, the letters of which, computed according to the Arabic method, give the year of his death, A. H. 886. The first is—

"Kutl na huq."
"The unjust execution."

The other,—

"Bé goonah, Mahmood Gawan, shood shaheed."
"Without fault, Mahmood Gawan, became a martyr."

It is difficult to estimate the weight of a character like this in the times in which he bore so conspicuous a part; and there is nothing in the great range of Indian Mahomedan history to be compared with it. By birth Mahmood Gawan was a Persian; and his family, allied with royalty, had attained the highest honours. He had been offered the post of vizier of Khorassan, but preferred to be a merchant; and in this capacity resorted to the Bahmuny court, where Alla-oo-Deen Bahmuny having created him a noble of the kingdom, he rose gradually to the highest honour. What transpired of his habits, after his death; was too remarkable, and is too well vouched for by contemporary biography, to be wanting in credit. There were no hoarded treasures discovered; no domestic effects found. His treasurer's accounts showed the whole of his private and public disbursements. The original capital for trade which he possessed, still existed, and whatever profit resulted from it was remitted to his family in Persia. He had not even a bed, but slept upon a bare mat. The only cooking utensils he used in his kitchen were common earthen pipkins, and his household expenses never exceeded two rupees, or four shillings a day. Gradually, light seems to have dawned upon the mind of the unhappy king, and he in vain demanded that the bearer of the treasonable letter should be produced; but the conspirators were now too strong, and the dismemberment of the kingdom was at hand. One by one the principal officers fell away from him, and retiring to their respective provinces, haughtily awaited their opportunities for final revolt. Nizam-

ool-Moolk Bheiry was created minister, and on Yoosuf Adil Khan, the next in rank, were conferred the estates of the deceased. Nothing, however, could rouse the king to action. He remained at the palace of Ferozabad for some months, subject to severe attacks of fever, and having moved to Beeder, died there, on the 24th of March, 1482, after a fit of prolonged intemperance, probably of delirium tremens, crying out constantly "that Mahmood Gawan was tearing him to pieces." He had reigned twenty years in a constant succession of misfortunes.

It would answer no purpose to follow up the dynasty to its final extinction. Through the reign of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny II, for a long period of thirty-seven years, during which the dismemberment of the kingdom was completed; of his son, Ahmud Shah Bahmuny II, and of Wully-oolla-Shah Bahmuny, and Kulleem-oolla-Shah; whose three united reigns amounted to only five and a-half years; the insignificant remnant of the kingdom struggled on through many vicissitudes to its final death. The local power of Beeder had been usurped by a minister, Kasim Bereed, who finally founded a small dynasty with a very circumscribed territory; and thus, out of the Bahmuny kingdom at large, five separate dynasties had arisen. 1. In 1489 the Adil Shahy of Beejapoor; 2. in 1507 the Kootub Shahy of Golcondah; 3. in 1484 the Imad Shahy of Berar; 4. in 1489 the Nizam Shahy of Ahmednugger; and 5. in 1504 the Bereed Shahy of Beeder: all of which, henceforward, possessed separate interests and histories, and met eventually with the same fate,—that of absorption into the Moghul Empire of Dehli.

The Bahmuny dynasty had lasted one hundred and seventy-nine years, amidst constant wars with its neighbours, and in defiance of the many powerful Hindoo coalitions against it; and had not only maintained entire independence, but had added materially to the original territories wrested from the Emperor of Dehli in 1347. With the exception of Hoomayoon, there is no reasonable doubt that the people were well protected, and in the main kindly treated and justly governed by its princes. If we cannot compare the Bahmuny kings with their European contemporaries, Edward III. to Henry VIII; yet there can be no doubt that high civilization, according to the standard of Mahomedanism, existed, and must have exercised an ameliorating effect on the comparatively rude Hindoo inhabitants of the Deccan; while all previously-existing elements of social union and local government were not only preserved, but strengthened by the Mahomedans who, so far from interfering with or remodelling local institutions and hereditary offices, turned them to their own use and employed them. Education in Persian and Arabic literature was extended as much as possible by village schools, which were attached to mosques, and endowed with lands sufficient for their maintenance. There were few villages without mosques of one kind or other, however humble; but the system was the same everywhere, and tended as well to the spread of the literature as the faith of the ruling power, and its effects are still distinctly traceable throughout the wide extent of their dominions. There was a very considerable foreign commerce, and the capital of the Deccan was visited by merchants and travellers from all countries. Unfortunately, the aim of local Mahomedan historians of the Deccan has always been to chronicle political intrigues, and the effects of war rather than those of peace; but now and then, through the existing turmoil, there is a pleasant glance at quiet times, and even the warlike records of the Bahmuny dynasty are not without them.

Comparatively speaking, the dynasty left few public works. There were none of irrigation, none of transit, no bridges, public inns, or posts along roads; but there were stupendous fortifications, which to this day are as firm and perfect as when they were constructed. No doubt they were necessary, for without them the widely-extended and naturally-undefined frontiers of the kingdom could not have been defended. To the north and east, the mountain fortresses of Gawilgurh, Narnalla, and Mahore, with Dowlutabad and numbers of intervening smaller forts; as a central and main line, Beeder and Goolburgah the capitals—Dharoor, Owsah, Kulliani, Nuldroog, Sholapoor and Paraindah; to the south and east, Belgaum, Dharwar, Nurgoond, with Rachore, Moodgul, and the curious and almost inaccessible fort of Juldroog, a fortified hill on an island below the cataracts of the Krishna river—formed lines of internal and external defence and support, determined with great military skill and judgment. When the period at which these were constructed is considered, that is, for the most part in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is impossible not to appreciate the advanced condition to which the science of fortification had then advanced in India, and the strength and beauty of construction. They have glacis, and counterscarp, covered ways, traverses, flanking bastions with curtains and intermediate towers; broad wet and dry ditches; and in all fortresses on the plain, as Owsah, Puraindah and others, a fausse braye with bastions and towers, in addition to the main rampart. In comparison with these noble works, the European castles and

fortified places of the Middle Ages are not worth mention, either as to strength, military skill, or beauty of execution; and they well deserve of themselves a work devoted to their illustration, in which their peculiarities of construction and picturesque designs should be pictorially shown, and explained by corresponding letterpress descriptions.

The mausolea of this dynasty are not remarkable either for size or beauty of architecture. The earliest, which are at Goolburgah, are square massive buildings with heavy domes; and in those of the later kings, which are at Beeder, the same patterns seem to have been followed with little variation. The arch used, which was of a broad lanceolated form, with indented middle portions, seems never to have varied, and the interiors are gloomy, with heavy groins and buttresses. From what remains of the palaces at Goolburgah and Beeder, it is easy to perceive that the more recent ones at Beeder are grander in every respect than the former; that they consisted of several stories, and were composed of large halls and wide and lofty rooms, pierced with broad arched windows, to admit air and light plenteously. In many instances the fronts of buildings, the crowns and sides of arches, have been covered by enamel tiles of great beauty of design and exquisite colours, which were used to assist the effect of ornamental stucco-work. The partially perfect front of the great college at Beeder, built by Mahmood Gawan, and its graceful minaret, which were covered with these tiles, partly sentences of the Koran in Arabic characters, white, on turquoise blue or sea-green grounds, and partly graceful designs in flowers and arabesque patterns—and a pavilion on the outer gateway of the fort, of a more florid and elegant style of architecture than any other edifice at Beeder, are examples of an art which must have existed in perfection at that period, but which has since been entirely lost. One branch of art has, however, survived the past, and the local manufacture is still considerable,—that of tutenague, an alloy of copper and zinc, or tin. Of this, drinking vessels and cups, large bowls, water jugs, hooka vases, and the like are cast, turned on a lathe, and being made black by an application of copperas, are inlaid with gold or silver, or both, as may be required, in very delicate foliage patterns. This art has not declined in any degree; and its exercise supports numerous families of intelligent and industrious artisans, who inhabit the houses of their forefathers in the old city.

As has been before remarked, the environs of Beeder are remarkably picturesque: and the plateau is ornamented with almost continuous groves of mango trees, interspersed with small pavilions and enclosures which were once gardens. To the west of the city is the family cemetery of the Bereed dynasty, standing amidst groves of mango and tamarind trees and cornfields. Of this cemetery the gateway and the tomb of Ameer Bereed the most powerful prince of the dynasty, are beautiful specimens of the florid style of Deccan architecture, and the lightness of his mausoleum, in comparison with others, its lofty open arches, and dome, evince a practical skill and advance in construction which is far superior to that of the earlier edifices. Altogether, whether for its delightful climate, its great salubrity, or the interest which attaches itself to its history, there is no locality in the Deccan which more abounds with attraction to the traveller than the city and plateau of Beeder.

We can trace, from the records of this dynasty, the origin of the present Mahomedan population of the Deccan very distinctly. It does not appear that any forcible conversion of masses of Hindoos was ever made; but a continuous stream of foreigners, being soldiers, was poured into the country, by whom the royal armies were recruited and the service of the State supplied. Persia, Tartary, Arabia, and Affghanistan appear to have been the sources of supply to the northward; and it is unquestionable that the population of Africa supplied large numbers of the common soldiery, especially the cavalry. They are called Abyssinians in all translations of Mahomedan histories; but the word used in the original is invariably "hubshy," which signifies more exactly, negro: and whether the African recruits were ordinary negroes, or, more strictly speaking, Abyssinians, is nowhere explained. If the latter, some may have professed Christianity; but of this even there is no trace, those described being universally Mahomedans. Whatever they may have been, there is no doubt, from the rise of so many of them to noble rank and power, that they were men of intellect and education, and, in common with the Caucasian element of Mahomedans, they mingled with Hindoos and contributed to create the new Mahomedan population of the Deccan.

PART II.

OF THE ADIL SHAHY DYNASTY OF BEEJAPOOR.

YOOSUF ADIL SHAH.

IT has already been explained in reference to the Bahmuny dynasty of the Deccan, that the armies of the State, and its officers also for the most part, were foreigners; and that out of this motley assemblage of Turks, Arabs, Affghans, Moghuls, and Abyssinians, the Mahomedan population of the Deccan gradually arose. In the early portion of the Mahomedan conquests, the local armies, whether Imperial or Bahmuny, were entirely composed of foreign materials; but in the latter reigns of the Bahmuny kings, the Mahomedan population had evidently increased in a sufficient degree to supply soldiers, and out of these descendants of localized foreigners a new class, termed "Deccany," had arisen, which, in its turn, contributed many distinguished men to the service of the State, and very largely to the ranks of the Deccan armies. The two elements, however, seem never to have cordially united; and all through the history of the latter times of the Bahmuny monarchy, perpetual factious intrigues and strife, ensued from the rival pretensions of local parties. Little is heard of the Moghul or Tartar element which, as supreme at Dehli, was probably distrusted and kept down at the Deccan court; and, from the limited supplies and varied elements of its constituents, was altogether of secondary consideration. On the other hand, the Abyssinian element preponderated; and between it and the Deccany, the balance of power fluctuated according to local and political circumstances, and the fortunes of the several leaders.

The state of these parties will have been estimated from the occurrences of the closing period of the Bahmuny dynasty, and in particular from the death of Mahomed Shah *II*, during whose troubled reign the partitions of the kingdom virtually occurred as an immediate consequence of the murder of Mahmood Gawan. By the great minister's death, the last bond among the local chiefs had been broken; the vitality of the kingdom had been destroyed under the operations of the intrigues of factions and could not be resuscitated: and there was neither power nor ability left in the weak executive to attempt, with any hope of effect, either a reconciliation of conflicting interests, or such campaigns against the rebellious commanders, as in former instances had saved the kingdom from dismemberment and ruin. It can hardly be doubted that, if Yoosuf Adil Khan, the founder of the Beejapoor dynasty, had been present at Ferozabad when the death of his aged patron the minister was so basely and treacherously contrived by Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry the head of the Deccany party, not only would he have been saved, but the dismemberment of the kingdom deferred. His death, however, in the ordinary course of nature, must have occurred in a brief period; and there is no ground for supposing either that the factions of the State, or the powers of their chief leaders, would have materially altered in reference to their own position or ultimate ambitious designs. The very precautions, in fact, which Mahmood Gawan had established for the better government of the country—that of enforcing the residence of the principal governors in their own provinces—had tended to the consolidation of their local power, and hastened the final catastrophe.

At the time of the minister's death, Yoosuf Adil Khan was employed on the western frontier of his Government of Beejapoor; and seems to have remained there until the accession of Mahmood Shah II, when, according to etiquette, it was his duty to visit the sovereign in person at the capital, and present the usual gifts of congratulation. The visit appears to have been as much a demonstration of strength as of compliment,

for all the "foreign" troops and officers—that is, those not either Abyssinians or Deccanies—made common cause with him as their acknowledged head; and the united bands encamped outside the city. Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, who had usurped the office of minister upon Mahmood Gawan's death, viewed this confederacy with much apprehension: and the same feeling of distrust and dislike no doubt existed on both sides. It is probable, had not Yoosuf Adil Khan been entirely on his guard, that he and the whole of the "foreign" officers would have been assassinated on the occasion of their state visit of congratulation to the king; but precautions were taken against surprise as they went to Court: the ceremony passed off without disturbance; and Yoosuf Adil Khan, taking the minister's hand as he left the royal presence, walked with him to the outer gate of the fort of Beeder, where his own troops were drawn up to receive him. Subsequently, Nizam-ool-Moolk tried to persuade Yoosuf Adil Khan to come daily to the palace and assist in the affairs of government; but this, too, was formally but respectfully declined, and the foreigners on the one hand, and the coalesced Deccanies and Abyssinians on the other, though essentially separate in interests, maintained their positions at the capital on an amicable footing for some weeks. This state of things did not, however, conform with the purposes of Nizam-ool-Moolk, who desired the destruction of Yoosuf Adil Khan and the foreign party in general; and having summoned leaders on whom he could depend, with their forces, a pretended review of them on the plain before the gate of the fort was ordered, and the king placed on a tower to view the spectacle. On this occasion, Nizam-ool-Moolk informed his generals that the foreigners were mutinous, and must be destroyed, together with their chief; and an immediate attack on them followed, which resulted in the destruction of great numbers in the streets of the city. Eventually, however, they rallied, and the disturbances ceased only on the intervention of "holy men," the mutual friends of both parties. Shortly afterwards, Yoosuf Adil Khan, with the whole of his family and partisans, left Beeder, returned to his government of Beejapoor, and never afterwards revisited the capital.

The executive power of the Bahmuny state now remained with Nizam-ool-Moolk; but the king, in the sequel, became impatient of his domination, and directed his execution. This coming to the minister's knowledge, he suddenly left the camp of the king, and repaired to the capital, in the hope of securing the royal treasures, absconding with them, and proclaiming his own independence. His attempt was, however, frustrated by the vigilance of the officer in command at Beeder, who, pretending to have matters of importance to communicate, was allowed to enter the minister's private chamber, and there strangled him, sending his head to the king, who thus avenged the death of Mahmood Gawan, and freed himself from the treachery with which he had been always menaced. The family of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry was, however, destined to attain the independent regal power at which he had himself aimed; and his son, Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, then in command of a large army engaged in service in the north-western portion of the kingdom, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, revolted, and, assuming independence, founded the "Nizam Shahy" dynasty, the capital of which was Ahmednugger. Not long afterwards, Kootub-ool-Moolk, who was the governor of the eastern provinces of the kingdom, followed his example, and founded the "Kootub Shahy" dynasty, the capital of which was Golcondah; and Kasim Bereed, as before stated, being now minister at Beeder, usurped the royal authority, and held what provinces remained around Beeder itself, in the king's name.

By this preliminary statement, the position of Yoosuf Adil Khan will, it is hoped, be sufficiently understood. He was the first of the new kings to throw off his allegiance to the Bahmuny dynasty; and there can be little doubt that the treacherous conduct of Nizam-ool-Moolk hastened that event. He carried with him to Beejapoor the flower of the foreign portion of the Bahmuny army: and leaving the Deccanies and Abyssinians to the consequences of their constantly-recurring factious broils, and intrigues, was too strong in his own local government to be immediately interfered with.

The romantic and interesting account of the birth and preservation from destruction of Yoosuf Adil Khan when a boy, which is given by Ferishta, the historian of the Adil Shahy dynasty, has never been questioned or contradicted; and having been written at Beejapoor, from the records of the family, may be accepted as authentic in all respects. Yoosuf was the son of Agha Moorad, or Amurath, Sultan of Constantinople, who, according to Gibbon, died in 1451. It was the custom of that family to allow only one male child to survive its father's death; and when the sultan's successor, Mahomed II, ordered the destruction of all his father's male children, Yoosuf's mother entreated her child's life might be spared. This being denied her, she determined to save

the boy, if possible, by stratagem. Being acquainted with a Persian merchant then at Constantinople, she obtained through him the child of a Circassian slave, and succeeded in substituting it for her own, which she confided to the merchant's care, exacting from him a promise that he would protect it through life. The event justified her most sanguine hopes; Khwaja Imad-oo-Deen conveyed the boy to Sava, in Persia, where he grew up, and was well educated. On one occasion the mother sent a special messenger to the merchant, and was gratified by receiving in reply a letter in his own handwriting from her son, informing her of his welfare; and after another interval, she dispatched the boy's nurse, her son Ghuzunfur Beg, and daughter, Dilshad Agha, to remain with him; nor did they ever afterwards leave him. It is possible that Yoosuf Adil Khan might never have quitted Sava; but his nurse is reported to have incautiously betrayed the secret of his birth; and to escape danger, the Turkish governor of the province was heavily bribed to allow him to depart. Thence he proceeded to Koom, Isphahan, and, eventually, to Shiraz: when, it is stated, he was warned in a dream to go to India where he was destined to attain regal power, and he eventually reached the port of Dabul in the year 1461.

Yoosuf was then seventeen years old, well educated in Persian literature, and of a handsome person, with engaging manners; and a Persian merchant, who had come to the port for trade, invited the young man to accompany him to the court of the Bahmuny king at Beeder, where he was sold, nominally, it may be supposed, to the minister, Mahmood Gawan, who appointed him to the royal body-guard. In this corps Yoosuf rose rapidly. Proving himself eminently competent, he was entrusted with the executive control of this body, and eventually succeeding to its command; and thus, having attracted the favourable notice of the king, Mahomed Shah, became his Master of the Horse. Court employment does not, however, seem to have suited his taste; and he succeeded in being transferred to the provincial administration of his friend Nizam-ool-Moolk *Turk*, where, as the commander of five hundred horse, Yoosuf repeatedly distinguished himself, and obtained the title of Adil Khan. Henceforward he rose gradually but uninterruptedly to the office and command which he held at the period of his assumption of royalty in the year 1489, being then forty-five years of age.

At this period the territory under Yoosuf Adil Shah's government was comparatively small; his army consisted of little more than 8000 horse, and no mention is made of artillery. Had, therefore, the combination against him, which was planned by Kasim Bereed, the minister of Beeder, been carried out, it is far from probable that Yoosuf Adil Khan could have maintained the position he had assumed. Kasim Bereed alone was unable to oppose the Beejapoor king; but he offered to the Rajah of Beejanugger the long-coveted forts of Moodgul and Rachore, and the territory dependent upon them, if he would march against him. Kasim Bereed also pressed Bahadur Geelany, who held the Koncan and Goa for the Bahmuny interests, to advance from the west, and Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, of Ahmednugger, to unite his forces with the royal troops and advance from the north. By what means this formidable combination was evaded or defeated is not very clear from Ferishta's Chronicle. The minister of the Beejanugger State did immediately invade the Dooab, and possess himself of Rachore; and Bahadur Geelany advanced into the western portion of the Beejapoor territory. Before, however, Kasim Bereed and his ally could join forces, Yoosuf Adil Shah had defeated Bahadur Geelany, and made a temporary peace with Timraj, the Beejanugger general; he then turned northwards, and met the Bahmuny army near Nuldroog. What ensued can hardly be called a battle, for Kasim Bereed fled on the first charge by the Beejapoor army. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry proved to be a lukewarm ally, and having taken no part in the engagement, concluded a treaty with the King of Beejapoor on the field, and each withdrew to his respective territory; while Kasim Bereed, being too weak to oppose Yoosuf Adil Shah alone, abandoned the contest, which was not for the present renewed.

If any peace had been concluded between the State of Beejanugger and the King of Beejapoor, it was speedily broken by the former party. The Rajah was a minor: and Timraj, the Regent minister and general-in-chief of the Hindoo army, having already possession of the Dooab, and being encouraged by the apparent weakness of Yoosuf Adil Shah, desired to complete the conquest of the whole of the Beejapoor territory, and, accompanied by the young Rajah, advanced with all his forces. It does not appear that Yoosuf Adil Shah had more than his original 8000 cavalry available; but they were tried veterans, and with them he met the Beejanugger invasion, and a general engagement ensued. At first the Mahomedans sustained heavy loss, and fell back; but being rallied by the king in person, and some of the Hindoo troops having dispersed to plunder, he fell upon the rest with such fury that the whole Beejanugger army fled, and was pursued with great

slaughter. On the way to his capital, the young Rajah died of wounds received in the action, and Timraj escaped with difficulty. The booty gained was immense. Two hundred elephants, a thousand horses, and sixty lacs of hoons,* about two millions sterling, in gold, fell into the hands of the king on the field of battle. By the treasure gained on this occasion, as well as by the moral effect of this splendid victory, the power of Yoosuf Adil Shah was greatly strengthened, and his dynasty now established on a much firmer footing than at first. This great battle was fought in the month of April, 1498; but the place is not recorded. The king followed up his success; and one of his best generals was forthwith dispatched with a strong force into the Rachore Dooab, when the forts of Rachore and Moodgul, with all the territory as far as the Toongbuddra river, were recovered. Yoosuf Adil Shah now held the whole of the provinces formerly subject to Beejapoor, and in addition to these, the Koncan as far north as Goa; and the districts of Belgaum, and perhaps Dharwar, which had been held by Bahadur Geelany, were now conferred upon him by the Bahmuny king, Mahmood II. It is interesting to observe that, at the conclusion of the campaign against Bahadur Geelany, which had been conducted by Mahmood II. in person, Yoosuf Adil Shah met the king and conducted him to Beejapoor on his return to Beeder. The new citadel and palaces were shown to him: and he was entertained by his quondam subject and general, with great splendour for ten days. On his departure, costly gifts were presented to him, but the unfortunate monarch mournfully declared that he dared not accept them, as they would be wrested from him by his minister, Kasim Bereed, and they should be kept for him till Yoosuf Adil Shah could effect his release. Nor was it perhaps improbable, that he departed homewards under the impression that his deliverance would eventually be secured. Such an act would not, however, have suited the policy of the astute King of Beejapoor; and if he were at any time tempted to assist his former sovereign, the certainty that such a procedure would be resented by the King of Ahmednugger, then more powerful perhaps than himself, must have restrained him. The preservation of a balance of power in the Deccan seems at all times to have been a paramount object of solicitude by the new kings: and any attempt at territorial increase, by one or other of them, was immediately opposed by a coalition of the rest.

Between Beeder and Beejapoor, lay Goolburgah and the districts dependent on it; which, like other portions of the Bahmuny territories, had been formed into a turuf, or province, and were governed by an Abyssinian eunuch named Dustoor Deenar. Encouraged by the success of the new kings of Beejapoor, Ahmednugger, and Golcondah, this person aimed at creating a kingdom of his own at Goolburgah; and being the recognized head of the Abyssinian party, possessed considerable local support. His pretensions were also privately supported by the King of Ahmednugger. Thus encouraged, the eunuch threw off his flimsy disguise and assumed royal honours; but on application for assistance being made to Beejapoor by the minister at Beeder, Yoosuf Adil Shah dispatched an army to co-operate with the Beeder forces, and in the engagement which followed, the eunuch's levies and allies were defeated and himself taken prisoner. Goolburgah was, however, restored to him, and for the present he escaped punishment. At the conclusion of this campaign, the Bahmuny king, Mahmood II, asked for Beebee Musseety, the daughter of Yoosuf Adil Shah, in marriage with his son, Ahmud Shah; and the ceremony of betrothal took place at Goolburgah with great pomp. The memoirs of that event, which are still to be met with at Goolburgah, state that public opinion sympathized with the ancient and glorious dynasties of the Bahmunies, and that it was trusted this marriage would eventually unite all parties, and restore the Bahmuny kingdom to prosperity. These hopes, however, proved futile; for some intrigues grew out of the new connection, which brought about fresh complications.

The Bahmuny king still privately urged upon Yoosuf Adil Shah the necessity for humbling Kasim Bereed; and on condition that the eunuch's estates should be transferred to Beejapoor, Yoosuf Adil Shah agreed to the measure. The first step was to reduce the Abyssinian eunuch; and when this was effected, Kasim Bereed was attacked in turn, and overthrown. As had been anticipated, however, these acts roused the King of Ahmednugger to action, and he rendered assistance freely to the defeated parties. Self-interest, however, in the sequel, proved superior to useless strife: and, after some discussion, a tripartite treaty was effected between the Kings of Beejapoor, Ahmednugger, and Berar, in which certain districts, still held on the part of the Bahmuny king, were to be divided without mutual dispute. The Beejapoor share of this partition was the long-coveted districts of the eunuch Dustoor Deenar, and an army was put in motion to take possession of them.

* Star pagodas, a gold coin worth about seven shillings.

The eunuch, who had now no chance of succour from Ahmednugger, again made application to Beeder, and Kasim Bereed sent 3000 horse to his aid. With this force, and his own, joined by those of Khwajah Jehan of Puraindah, another semi-independent noble, whose jealousy had been aroused by his exclusion from the partition treaty, Dustoor Deenar brought into the field a more powerful force than Yoosuf Adil Shah; but this did not avail him, his army was defeated with great slaughter, and he himself killed in the action. The name of Ghuzunfur Beg—the son of Yoosuf Adil Shah's nurse, who, with his sister, Dilshad Agha, had been sent to Persia by the Queen mother of Constantinople before her son's departure to India, and who had been the faithful adherent of his fortunes from that period—will not perhaps have been forgotten by the reader. Ghuzunfur Beg had risen to high rank in the Beejapoor forces, and commanded the right wing of the army in this action; when, in the first charge, he received a mortal wound. As the generals and officers gathered round the king at the close of the battle to offer their congratulations, Ghuzunfur Beg had strength enough left to accompany them, and the king, with much affection, cheered him, and had his wounds dressed in his own presence. It was, however, of no avail, for the gallant soldier died three days afterwards, to the great grief of his royal master. The immediate reduction of Goolburgah, Sugger, and other dependencies of the late eunuch followed, and the king's return to his capital was celebrated with great rejoicing.

There are two great sects among the Mahomedans—Soonies and Sheeahs; and hitherto, no leader of the second, or, as it is termed by the other, heterodox creed, had appeared, or, at least, been openly declared in India. It is most probable, from his Persian education in a religious college at Sava, that Yoosuf Adil Shah had from the first embraced the Sheeah doctrine, and awaited only a fitting public occasion for professing it openly. Accordingly, during the temporary peaceful interval which followed the campaign against Dustoor Deenar, the king, in pursuance of a vow he had made if success were vouchsafed to him, proclaimed the Sheeah creed in Beejapoor, and himself assisted at the first public declaration of it. This was perhaps the most critical act of his life; for though many of the foreign troops which accompanied him professed the Sheeah faith, there were many others, Turks, Deccanies, and Abyssinians, now engaged in his service, who were Soonies; and the royal house of Bahmuny, and the kings of Ahmednugger and Golconda being also of that faith, were little likely to acquiesce in the new religious movement, which had just been successful in Persia. Yoosuf Adil Shah was not, however, deterred by the danger of any combination against him, and carried out his plans with his usual judgment and moderation. He allowed free and undisturbed profession of Sooneism and of other sects of Mahomedanism, not only in the capital, but throughout his dominions; and this religious equality seems, in no small degree, to have had effect in the maintenance of his power.

The probable combination against him on religious grounds, of which he had been warned, and for which he seems to have been fully prepared, was not long delayed; and Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, of Ahmednugger, formed an alliance with Kasim Bereed to suppress the heretical faith. Their armies united, and invaded the northern provinces of Beejapoor; the fort of Nuldroog was invested, and some of the districts of Dustoor Deenar were taken possession of. Yoosuf Adil Shah at once marched for the scene of disorder, raised the siege of Nuldroog, and recovered the country temporarily occupied by the enemy; whereupon the allies sought to engage the kings of Golconda and Berar in their quarrel, but failed; and Kasim Bereed, who had borne the brunt of the war hitherto, now wrote so reproachfully to his ally, that the King of Ahmednugger moved southwards from his capital with a large army, and heavy park of artillery, against Beejapoor.

Yoosuf Adil Shah was then encamped at Allund, the capital town of one of Dustoor Deenar's districts, lying to the north-west of Goolburgah; and finding it impossible to meet the allies with any chance of success in a general engagement, sent back his infant son, Ismail, to Beejapoor, and confided the defence of the capital to his friend Kumal Khan. From his own army he selected 6000 veteran cavalry; and passing the left flank of the Ahmednugger army, fell upon the rich province of Beer, at the same time sending detachments to harass his enemies' camps and cut off their supplies. He then pursued a northerly course, past Dowlutabad, and betook himself to Berar, in the hope of inciting the king, Imad-ool-Moolk, an old fellow-officer of the Bahmuny State, to join him. This, however, was declined; and Imad-ool-Moolk advised him, if he wished his State to escape destruction, to recall his edict in regard to the Sheeah faith, and to retire upon Boorhanpoor, where he would be kindly received. As a temporizing measure, therefore, Yoosuf Adil Shah adopted this counsel, and sent the necessary orders to Kumal Khan, retiring himself to Boorhanpoor, where he was hospitably entertained by its king.

It is interesting, even at this period, to observe the nature of the political intrigues and fluctuations of this curious period of Deccan history. No sooner had Yoosuf Adil Shah left him, than Imad Shah, as perhaps had been agreed between them, sent ambassadors to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, and Kootub-ool-Moolk, to warn them against the wily designs of Kasim Bereed, which were to acquire Beejapoor for the Bahmuny dynasty, or himself; and that, if his purpose succeeded, they would assuredly lose the kingdoms they had created for themselves. Moreover, that no man had a right to interfere with another's religion; and that persecution on this account was unworthy of good Mussulmans; and, further, as in obedience to the popular demonstration, Yoosuf Adil Shah had already retracted his edict in regard to the Sheeah faith, there remained no excuse for the war. Imad Shah's opinion, on account of his great age and experience as a statesman, was held in the utmost respect in the Deccan, and seems on this occasion to have had much weight; and the kings of Ahmednugger and Golcondah, who had united with Kasim Bereed to follow up Yoosuf Adil Khan, immediately separated from him, and returned to their own dominions.

At this juncture the allies would appear to have followed Yoosuf Adil Shah into Berar; for, after the desertion of his friends, Ameer Bereed, (son of Kasim Bereed,) remained with Imad Shah, vainly endeavouring to induce him to alter his resolution. Yoosuf Adil Shah was now, however, on his return from Boorhanpoor; and on his approach to Gawilgurh, Ameer Bereed fled, leaving his camp, which was plundered in derision by the Berar soldiery. Thus ended this singular transaction which is still remembered in the Deccan, and commemorated by the Soonee portion of the population, under the title of the "Holy War of the Faithful Brethren." In regard to its essential object, however, it was entirely unsuccessful; for immediately on his return to Beejapoor, Yoosuf Adil Shah re-established the public profession of the Sheeah faith, and from 1502-3 to the king's death in 1510, an interval of peace and local improvement followed, during which the whole of the Deccan seems to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

It is impossible in this place to enter upon any details of the history of the Portuguese in India. In the year 1497, their first ships had reached the western coast by the route of the Cape of Good Hope, and their wars with the native powers, and conquest of territory were now in progress. On the 15th of February, 1510, Albuquerque received the surrender of the fort of Goa from the Beejapoor commander; and on the receipt of the news of its loss, the king, according to Ferishta, at once set out with a small force for its recovery, retook the place, and returned. The Portuguese historian, however, records that it was taken in May, 1510, by Kumal Khan, the Beejapoor general; and as the king's health was then failing, it is probable that he left the operations against Goa in the hands of this able general. Not long afterwards, Yoosuf Adil Shah died of dropsy, being then seventy-five years old, and having reigned twenty-one years.

Among the sovereigns of the Deccan, Yoosuf Adil Shah, whether as to political ability, statesmanship, or personal accomplishments, holds deservedly a high place in local history,—probably the highest. In his character, and that of his administration, there is no trace of the fierce cruelty, bigotry, and licentiousness, which were displayed by the kings of the Bahmuny dynasty; and even the opposition to his favourite dogma of Sheeaism, which might have aroused the fanatical excitement of both parties, and deluged his kingdom with blood, was restrained and overcome by his wise and temperate conduct. He was the founder of a dynasty which, of all others in the Deccan, with the exception of that of Golcondah, has left the noblest memorials of its greatness; and was, from first to last, the munificent patron of art and literature in the highest degrees then known in India, far indeed exceeding, in these respects, the early contemporaneous Emperors of Dehli. To his subjects, of all creeds and classes, Yoosuf Adil Shah was just and merciful; and it is probable that the fact of his having married a Hindoo lady, the daughter of a Mahratta chieftain, his only wife, may have induced more sympathy with his Hindoo subjects in general, than was at all common to the period. Among the revenue servants of his administration, Brahmins, and other Hindoos, were admitted to the exercise of considerable powers; and to a great extent, and to the exclusion of Canarese the local vernacular of the Beejapoor districts, Mahratta became the language of ordinary current business.

Beyond part of the fortifications of the citadel and city of Beejapoor, and some of the oldest palaces within the citadel, no great public works are attributed to this king. The outer fortifications are composed of strong curtain walls, with flanking bastions at intervals, generally of an octagon form, beautifully built of basalt, and crowned by picturesque machicolated battlements pierced with loopholes for musketry. These are strengthened by a

broad dry ditch, and to this day are but little impaired by time. The citadel is situated about the centre of the enceinte, and is of a stronger character, having a fausse braye and bastions in addition to the higher bastions and massive curtains of the walls. At the upper portion of the citadel the ditch is dry and very broad; but it contains water elsewhere, supplied by springs, which are never known to fail. The palaces originally erected by Yoosuf Adil Shah were much increased by his descendants; and what remains of them show not only their massive structure, but their division into stories, and the large size and height of their rooms. The style of architecture is uniformly plain, and agrees with that of the palaces at Beeder, by the descendants of whose architects those at Beejapoor were probably erected.

There is no mausoleum at Beejapoor to the memory of Yoosuf Adil Shah. Though he died there, his body was embalmed and sent to the town of Gogi, in the present province of Shorapoor, about fifty miles eastward from Beejapoor, and buried near the tomb of a local saint, Peer Chunda Husseinee, for whom, during his life, he had great reverence. His grave, which is inside the walled enclosure of the saint's mausoleum and college attached to it, is a plain monumental stone of the usual character, without any covering or inscription. It was thus, as the tradition is, that he desired to be buried; and his directions were literally carried out. The anniversary of his death is still observed; and from the extinction of the Beejapoor dynasty a new covering for the tomb, of plain cotton cloth, is always contributed every year by the Rajahs of Shorapoor, once feudatory vassals of the kingdom, which is placed upon it by the priests and people of Gogi with simple ceremonies. Some endowments of land for the service of the tomb still survive the lapse of time, and are enjoyed by the descendants of the original grantees; and thus, as the people say, there are not yet wanting faithful servants of the good king of Beejapoor to say "fatehas" for the repose of his soul, to hang garlands about his tomb, or light lamps at its head and foot, though the mausoleums of the magnificent Bahmuny kings are utterly deserted. By his wife, the Hindoo lady before mentioned, Yoosuf Adil Shah had four children, three daughters and one son, Ismail, who succeeded to the throne. Of the daughters, Ferishta records that Muryum, or Mary, the eldest, married Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry, of Ahmednugger; Khodeija, the second, Alla-oo-Deen Imad Shah, of Berar; and the betrothment of Beebee Musseetee, the youngest, to Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, at Goolburgah, as has been already mentioned, was followed by her marriage in the year 1514; but these royal alliances, so far from reconciling conflicting pretensions, seem rather, in the future, to have augmented their difficulties.

ISMAIL ADIL SHAH.

WHEN Yoosuf Adil Shah died, his son Ismail was a boy of only five years old, and Kumal Khan, the trusted friend of his father, became, by the king's express desire and general consent, the executive regent. His first act was to restore the public profession of the Soonee faith, by which he gained the attachment of the Deccany portion of the army, and probably of the majority of the Mahomedan population, as well as the approval and respect of the neighbouring kings. There can be no doubt, however, that this was done with the view of preparing the way for his own aggrandizement, and was part of the great game of ambition on which the Regent had staked his life. With the one exception of Mahmood Gawan, there had been no perfectly faithful regent in the Deccan, and the Bereed family of Beeder were, in his own times, examples of successful perfidy. No more fitting ally in his purpose could be found than Ameer Bereed, who had followed in his father's, Kasim Bereed's, steps; and to him the first overtures were secretly addressed. It seemed, indeed, a propitious epoch for daring adventurers like these; for at Ahmednugger, as well as at Beejapoor, the king was also a minor, and from Imad Shah of Berar there was nothing to apprehend. Ameer Bereed desired to annex Ahmednugger; Kumal Khan to be king of Beejapoor; and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was formed between them, with a schedule of districts to compose the two kingdoms, and Kumal Khan was left at liberty to depose and confine, or destroy, Ismail Adil Shah, as he pleased. So long as the foreign troops, however, remained in the royal army, Kumal Khan's plans were rendered abortive, for they guarded the king and his mother with jealous care and were incorruptible; but the regent had now largely augmented the Deccany element, which

was his own: he had also entertained great numbers of local Mahratta horse, and Abyssinians; and when he was thus in condition to press his measure of usurpation with vigour, he discharged at once the 3000 foreign body-guards, retaining only three-hundred, and commanded the rest to leave the capital within a week, on pain of death. All this being accomplished, the 30th of May, 1511, was fixed upon as a "lucky day" for the deposition of the young king and his own elevation to the throne.

Had Kumal Khan carried out his intention on the 29th of April, when he had determined, in concert with his council, to usurp the throne, it is very possible he might have succeeded; but the delay which occurred owing to the nature of the astrological predictions, gave the Queen mother time to attempt, if no more, at least the deliverance of her son; and what followed forms one of the most striking historical romances in Deccan history. Owing to the declaration of the astrologers that certain ensuing days would be attended with danger to him, Kumal Khan confined himself to his own apartments in the citadel, placing guards around them, and also inside and outside the gates, and had it given out that he was ill and could not be disturbed. The Queen mother who, from her Hindoo origin, had no doubt many secret friends and spies, seems to have been aware of what was in progress, and adroitly turned the circumstance of Kumal Khan's seclusion to his own destruction. The foster father of Ismail Adil Shah, Yoosuf Toork, who was hated by the regent, became her willing instrument. He had felt that, did Kumal Khan ascend the throne his own life would be an immediate sacrifice, and with a rare and devoted fidelity to his royal master, he at once determined on destroying Kumal Khan, even though he should die in the attempt. Accordingly, on pretence of desiring leave for Yoosuf to visit Mecca, the Queen mother sent a female servant, whom she knew to be a spy of the regent's, to him, to ask that Yoosuf should be allowed an audience of leave; this was immediately granted, and he was taken by the servant to Kumal Khan's private apartment for the purpose. The scene which ensued is too graphically described by Ferishta to be omitted.

"The Toork, approaching, according to custom, with great respect and humility, made his obeisance and "uttered several flattering speeches, which pleased Kumal Khan, who, calling him nearer to him, stretched out "his hand to give him a pân, Yoosuf, putting his hands under the cloth that covered his shoulders, advanced as "if to receive it. The protector stretched forth his hand to put the pân on the cloth, when Yoosuf, with the "quickness of lightning, drawing a dagger concealed beneath the cloth, stabbed Kumal Khan in the breast with "all his force, so that he fell down and expired with a loud groan; upon which the attendants rushing in, cut "the assassin to pieces with their swords, as also the old woman, whom they concluded had acted in concert "with him." (Briggs' Translation, vol. iii. p. 40).

To all readers unacquainted with the customs of Indian courts, it is necessary to explain, that the act of giving pân, or a few betel leaves made up into a roll for eating, is a ceremony never dispensed with as a courteous and friendly dismissal by a superior to an inferior, on occasion of any leave-taking for a considerable absence; and in this case the custom was followed, Kumal Khan being no doubt rejoiced at the prospect of getting rid of one whom he cordially detested. It would have been highly disrespectful in Yoosuf to have held out his naked hand to receive the gift. It could only be taken upon a handkerchief, or other covering for his hands: and the scarf about his shoulders, habitually worn by all classes, was easily brought forward so as to cover, not only his hands, but the waist girdle, which was no doubt a voluminous fold of muslin, in which the dagger he used could easily be concealed. While, therefore, his covered hands were receiving the pân as described, the dagger was drawn, and fatally used as described.

But the danger to the royal family did not end with the death of Kumal Khan. His mother, a masculine character, suppressed the clamour which had arisen, and dressing her son's body, placed it, supported by pillows, in a balcony, as if to receive the ordinary salutations of the court; and directed her son, Sufdur Khan, to inform the soldiery that the proper moment of action had arrived, and the young king was to be seized; the royal apartments were therefore forthwith surrounded and attacked. At this crisis the Queen mother's presence of mind seems to have faltered. She was as yet uncertain of the success of Yoosuf's attempt, which she proposed to ignore, and also to tender submission; but this fatal course was avoided by the spirit of the king's foster aunt, sister of Ghuzunfur Beg—the now aged Dilshad Agha—whose attachment to Yoosuf Adil Shah's fortunes from the outset will not have been forgotten. This noble-hearted woman instantly resolved upon resistance; ordered the palace gates to be shut, and sent a eunuch, faithful to her, to alarm the

few of her countrymen who were left on duty, and apprise them of the king's danger. There was no hesitation in obeying this order: the Turks and Persians on guard rallied round the palace gates, while the young king, at this time about six years old, accompanied by his mother, and Dilshad Agha, now dressed as men, and fully armed, encouraged the defence. The Turks and Persians were, however, only armed with their national weapon, the bow, while their assailants used musketry; and cannon were even brought up against the palace. Many of their number fell; and though the brave Dilshad Agha fought among the rest, the chance of prolonging the defence seems to have been almost hopeless, and the defenders, concealing themselves behind the parapet, silently awaited the final assault. Meanwhile Dilshad Agha had sent word to foreigners still in the city, and having thrown ropes over the citadel walls, many ascended by them, and thus the royal defenders were augmented to a hundred and fifty archers, fifty matchlock-men, and twenty-five Abyssinians. At this juncture, the fire having ceased from within, Sufdur Khan supposed the king's adherents had fled, and the outer gate was broken open. As his troops entered the court, however, they were met by a fierce volley of arrows and shot from the terrace of the palace; Sufdur Khan himself was wounded in the eye, and having taken refuge under a wall over which the king was standing, the boy, with that rare presence of mind which accompanied him through life, observing his enemy below, pushed over upon him a heavy stone, which killed him on the spot. The assaulting troops now fled to seek Kumal Khan himself: and learning he too was dead, at once dispersed. The young king then appeared openly, and his loyal partisans having rallied around him, the capital was speedily cleared of disaffected persons. The body of the brave Yoosuf Toork was buried with great honours, and a mausoleum with a dome was erected over his remains. Nor did the king fail, during his life, to visit this grave once a month, and bestow alms in memory of his faithful servant. It is interesting also to know that the endowment of this tomb still exists in some measure, and that the anniversary of the revolution is thus observed. No event of the Adil Shahy dynasty has perhaps taken a stronger hold upon the people of the city and country of Beejapoor than this, and it is the subject of many a ballad and recitation to this day, both in the ancient Deccany dialect and in Canarese. Executions and assassinations would not fail to have followed such an escape from danger in the times of the Bahmuny kings, and it is remarkable to observe on this occasion a complete absence of them. The mother of the late regent, and the survivors of his family, were not only pardoned, but dismissed with gifts of money; and we are especially told that the astrologers who had so surely foretold the death of Kumal Khan, were taken into his own service by the king. Around him the veteran troops of his father, and the exiled nobles of the State speedily collected; all Deccany and Abyssinian troops were forthwith discharged; nor in his future life would the king admit into his army, any but foreign troops and their children.

Strange as it may appear, there is no doubt from the local chronicle, that the king at once entered upon public affairs, and conducted them with a marvellous and precocious ability. There was no further regency attempted, or even proposed: and the first effort made was to recover territory which had passed into other hands. Ameer Bereed's forces were expelled from Goolburgah, which they had occupied under the infamous treaty with Kumal Khan, the late regent, and the districts dependent upon that place recovered. This spirited action aroused the anger of Ameer Bereed who issued orders in the name of the Bahmuny king to the kings of Ahmednugger, Golcondah, and Berar, that they should send their several contingents to Beeder, and accompanied by the King Mahmood II, set out in a final attempt to regain Beejapoor, at the head of 25,000 cavalry. Ismail Adil Shah made no attempt to meet this invasion in the field. When it had reached Allapoor, a small town or suburb of Beejapoor, about a mile and a-half from the eastern gate of the city, he led against it, in person, his own 12,000 foreign cavalry, and gained a very decisive victory. The Bahmuny army not only fled precipitately, but abandoned their king, Mahmood Shah, and his son Ahmud, who were courteously entertained. On this occasion Mahmood Shah pressed the celebration of the marriage of his son Ahmud to the sister of Ismail Adil Shah, and the two kings proceeded amicably in company to Goolburgah, where the ceremony was performed; and as this event occurred in the year 1514, Ismail Adil Shah could not have been then more than nine years old.

From 1514 to 1519 seems to have been an interval of profound peace to the Beejapoor kingdom; and in the latter year, the young king began preparations for the recovery of the hereditary battle-field, the Rachore Dooab, now possessed by the Rajah of Beejanugger. There had been a successful usurpation in the Hindoo

kingdom, and the regent Timraj had possessed himself of the royal authority after poisoning his ward. The Beejanugger kings were never backward in meeting their Mahomedan antagonists; and the Rajah marched with a large army to the Krishna to prevent the Beejapoor troops from crossing. While preparations were being made for this purpose, Ismail Adil Shah, excited by wine, suddenly crossed the line, which was hardly fordable even by elephants, attacked the Beejanugger forces with a handful of his own, and narrowly escaped destruction, not only from the showers of cannon-shot, musketry, and rockets, with which he was met, which forced him to retreat, but from the deep and rapid stream, in which many of his elephants were drowned. This misadventure, however, was not without good effect, for the king made a vow against the use of wine, and observed it faithfully. In the month of May, 1524, Ismail Adil Shah met Boorhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmednugger, at Sholapoor, and the marriage of the latter to Muryum (Mary), the eldest of his three sisters, was celebrated with great pomp. Ismail Adil Shah either promised on this occasion, that the fort of Sholapoor should be his sister's dowry and he evaded giving possession of it, or Boorhan Nizam Shah affected to believe that such a settlement had been made, and used it as a pretext to make a combination against his brother-in-law, with Ameer Bereed, of Beeder, and the King of Berar. Be this as it may, war ensued, and the confederates sustained a terrible defeat, Boorhan Nizam Shah losing his artillery and royal standard, and returning, much discomfited, to his capital. This was the second general engagement in which the young king had taken part, and he displayed in it his usual personal valour.

In 1528, Boorhan Nizam Shah and his friend Ameer Bereed again tried their fortune in war with Beejapoor, but were defeated as before, not by the king in person, but by one of his generals, Assud Khan; and the real magnanimity of the young king is particularly noticeable in the fact that in the same year, and when Boorhan Nizam Shah, weakened by his defeat, was in no condition to resist an invasion by the King of Guzerat, Ismail Adil Shah sent to his assistance six lacs of hoons (400,000*l.*), and 6000 cavalry. During the campaign, Ameer Bereed tried to corrupt these troops, and induce them to join him against their master; and they having reported this to their king, he determined upon reducing for good the power of a person on whom not only could no reliance be placed, but who was constantly exciting strife by his restless intrigues and ambition. This intention was at once communicated to Boorhan Nizam Shah, with a significant request to preserve neutrality; and Ismail Adil Shah marched upon Beeder with the flower of his army. The city was loosely invested, for the troops of Ameer Bereed were at least equal in number to his own; and after some desultory skirmishing, a general engagement, fought with great valour and chivalrous spirit on both sides, resulted in the defeat not only of Ameer Bereed's troops, but of a heavy body of Golcondah cavalry, sent by Koolly Kootub Shah to Ameer Bereed's assistance. In this battle, which was fought on the plain outside the Bahmuny poorah, a suburb of Beeder, and is still well remembered, Ismail Adil Shah fought in the *mêlée* with great valour, and killed with his own hand, in single combat, two sons of Ameer Bereed, who successively attacked him, escaping himself without a wound. It was at the close of the battle that the Golcondah troops made their appearance on the right flank of the Beejapoor army. Ismail Adil Shah would have continued the fight in person; but was implored by his generals to refrain. Handing his own bloody sword to his Arab general, Syud Hoosein, who had volunteered for the new attack, the king ascended a mound, which is still shown, and viewed the final and victorious charge, being restrained with great difficulty from joining in it.

After the loss of his sons, Ameer Bereed retreated to the fort of Oodgeer, leaving the main body of his troops to defend the fort of Beeder, and applied to Imad Shah of Berar to come from his kingdom and act as mediator. Shortly afterwards, this king arrived at Beeder the siege of which was in progress, and took up a neutral position, on amicable terms with Ismail Adil Shah. While thus encamped, he was joined by Ameer Bereed; and a plan was entrusted to one of the Beejapoor generals, by the king, to surprise his camp at night, and, if possible, to take Ameer Bereed prisoner. The issue of this enterprise was very singular. On approaching the camp at night, Assud Khan, the Beejapoor commander, was not challenged, and sending on some spies, they returned shortly with the intelligence that they had found every one asleep, even at Ameer Bereed's tents; and that he might be taken without difficulty. Accordingly, Assud Khan proceeded with a few attendants, and having reached the tents, found Ameer Bereed lying on his bed intoxicated, and surrounded by drunken players and singers (male and female together) and attendants, all in the same state. One man alone was roused, who was instantly strangled; and Assud Khan, directing the bed of Ameer Bereed to be taken up as it was, carried off the old king, still asleep,

without molestation. On the way he awoke, fancying that he was being transported by evil spirits, and crying out piteously; but being warned to be silent, he resigned himself to his fate, and was thus carried, lying as he was, to Ismail Adil Shah. At first the king ordered his execution; but the old man then kneeling bareheaded in the sun, humbly begging his life, and offering to give up the fort of Beeder, was an object of pity which could not be resisted; and his execution was stayed, till the result of an application to his son, then commanding the fort, could be known. At first this person declared his father's life to be of no esteem in comparison with the value of Beeder and its treasures; whereupon Ameer Bereed besought he might be taken to a place whence he could be seen, and there executed, if his son did not relent. The first refusal was probably a ruse to gain time; for when a request to be allowed to bring away private property of the family was acceded to, the fort was evacuated—much of the royal treasure being then secretly removed by the Bereeds. The crowning point of the young king's ambition was now attained. Accompanied by Imad Shah, he entered the royal fortress in state, and proceeded to the great hall of audience in the palace of the Bahmuny kings, where the two kings seated themselves on the royal throne, receiving the congratulations of their subjects. Ismail Adil Shah desired Imad Shah to take what he pleased of the Bahmuny treasures; and divided the rest, with the costly plate, china, and other valuables, among his officers and troops, reserving nothing for himself. Consistently with his truly merciful and magnanimous character, Ismail Adil Shah provided for the aged Ameer Bereed and his family, and the fort of Oodgeer, with a large estate, was conferred upon them. From Beeder, Ismail Adil Shah, Imad Shah and Ameer Bereed being in his company, marched to the Rachore Dooab; and as some domestic disturbances at Beejanugger were in progress, succeeded in recovering the whole of the Rachore Dooab, with Rachore and Moodgul, which had been in possession of the Beejanugger State for seventeen years.

It might be thought, with reason, that by this time the Deccan kings were weary of war; and that the condition to which Ameer Bereed had been reduced, and his age, would have prevented his inveterate love of intrigue. It was not so, however; for by private messages to Boorhan Nizam Shah, of Ahmednugger, he succeeded in renewing the strife between the brothers-in-law. Boorhan Nizam Shah, therefore, espousing the cause of Ameer Bereed, sent a contemptuous message to Ismail Adil Shah, to the effect that, instead of making the tour of his dominions, as he had given notice, he had better remain at home; on receipt of which the fiery young king left his camp at Bahmunhully, with a slight escort, and, almost without drawing rein, reached Nuldroog the next afternoon. Thence he dispatched news of his arrival to Ahmednugger, adding that he had done all in his power to avoid a war, but his brother might come, if he pleased, and amuse himself. The message was accepted as a challenge, and Boorhan Nizam Shah, accompanied by his evil genius, Ameer Bereed, marched with 25,000 men and his artillery to the Beejapoor frontier. As before, the result was utter defeat, and Boorhan Nizam Shah again escaped from the field with difficulty. But this was the last disagreement between them; and having made up their differences in a private interview, the brothers-in-law continued on good terms till Ismail Adil Shah's death. The mutations of opinion in these quarrels seem inexplicable. Two years after, in 1533, we find Ismail Adil Shah again in alliance with Ameer Bereed, in an attack upon the kingdom of Golcondah, and the siege of Kowilcondah, a frontier fortress of much strength. During this operation the king fell ill of a severe fever, and died there in his twenty-ninth year, on Wednesday, September 6th, 1534, having reigned for twenty-five years with more continuous success and glory in war than any other Deccan monarch,. His body was embalmed and sent to Gogi, where the father and son rest side by side in the quiet cemetery before described. There appears no exaggeration in the character of this remarkable prince, as given by a contemporaneous historian quoted by Ferishta:—"He was, it is recorded, just, "patient, and liberal. He was extremely generous also, pardoning criminals, and averse to hearing slander. "He never used passionate language. He possessed great wit, was delighted with repartee in conversation, "and possessed a great fund of humour. He was an adept in the art of painting, varnishing, making arrows, "and embroidery, and fond of the company of poets and learned men, who were munificently supported "by him."

MULLOO.—IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH I.

ISMAIL'S last request to his faithful general and minister, Assud Khan, was, that Mulloo, his eldest son, should succeed to the throne; and after some hesitation, the prince, with the general consent of the family and the army, was proclaimed king, though the popular feeling in favour of his younger brother, Ibrahim, was unmistakeably manifested. Mulloo Adil Shah proved a disgrace to his dynasty, and immediately plunged into the most filthy debaucheries of all kinds, whereat the respectable nobles of the Court were so disgusted, that, for the most part, they retired to their respective estates. His grandmother, foreseeing the permanent injury which would result to the kingdom from his continuance on the throne, advised his deposition; and after an interval of six months he was seized without opposition, and having been blinded, was henceforward confined; Ibrahim, his younger brother, being raised to the throne under the title of Ibrahim Adil Shah I.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH I.

DURING the reign of Ismail Adil Shah the Sheea doctrine had continued to be the State creed; but on the accession of Ibrahim it was discontinued, and the Soonee faith established by public profession. Almost as a consequence, this involved a change in the military constitution of the State; and the foreign element, being Sheea, gave way to the united Deccany and Abyssinian, which was Soonee. The foreigners did not, however, leave the country. Three thousand of them entered the service of the Rajah of Beejanugger, who built a mosque for them in his capital, and allowed them free exercise of their faith; while he always kept a Koran in his presence, to which, as if to himself, the faithful could make salutation without offence. About this time, Mahratta was entirely substituted for Persian, as the language for accounts and finance in the Beejapoor kingdom; and Brahmins and other Hindoos of the Deccan were admitted to the royal service, and attained eminence in the civil administration. Mahratta soldiery also were entertained in considerable numbers as cavalry; and these circumstances combined, are evidences of the gradual amalgamation of the Hindoo and Mahomedan elements of population.

The first memorable act of the new king was his interference in the affairs of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanugger, in which no Mahomedan had ever before taken a part. A revolution—previously mentioned—had occurred, by the minister, Timraj, having usurped the throne. On his death, his son Ramraj was in his turn deposed by the adherents of the ancient dynasty; and as the power of Ramraj was still great, and his attitude threatening, the reigning prince called upon his Mahomedan neighbour for assistance. The subsidy offered on this occasion was very large, 240,000*l.* Six lacs of hoons were first sent to Beejapoor: and future tribute, and the daily cost of the army—estimated at three lacs of hoons—promised. In every point of view, therefore, this was too tempting an offer to be refused; and the king, acting on the advice of Assud Khan, marched for Beejanugger in the year 1535, and was cordially welcomed there. The movement, however, caused much alarm in the Beejanugger State, and the parties in opposition to the Rajah united with others in requesting their speedy dismissal, promising also future faithful allegiance. This had the desired effect, and Ibrahim Adil Shah, receiving fifty lacs of hoons, 1,750,000*l.*, left the capital.

No sooner, however, was this effected, than the party hostile to the Rajah, headed by Ramraj, invested Beejanugger; and the unfortunate prince, losing his reason under his misfortunes, destroyed the whole of the royal jewels by grinding them to powder, blinded the royal elephants and horses, and falling upon his own sword, died very miserably. On his return homewards, Ibrahim Adil Shah had thought to secure the strong fortress of Adoni, never yet conquered by Mahomedans, and invested it; but an army from Beejanugger raised the siege, and in one engagement gained some success over the Beejapoor troops. Assud Khan, however,

drew on his enemies, and, after a few marches, suddenly turned back on them, surprised their camp, and plundered it of great booty. After this, overtures for peace ensued; a treaty was executed with mutual satisfaction; and a long period of tranquillity followed. In this interval the king had become suspicious of his minister, and, as usual on these occasions, courtiers were not wanting to widen the breach; when the ever-restless Ameer Bereed and Boorhan Nizam Shah again coalescing, pretended to espouse the cause of Assud Khan, and invaded the Beejapoor kingdom in 1542. Ibrahim Adil Shah, for the time deserted by his general, who had resented the unfounded suspicion against him, was reduced to great straits; and being neither able to meet the allies in the field, nor defend his capital, retired to Goolburgah with his family. The fortune of the dynasty now seemed almost to have reached its lowest ebb, when Assud Khan, who had been faithful throughout, though he had ostensibly joined the confederate kings, besought the intervention of Imad Shah of Berar with his master; and this being given with much admirable judgment and temper, Assud Khan was afforded the opportunity he desired of justifying himself, and satisfactorily proving his innocence. A complete reconciliation ensued, and all disasters were speedily redeemed. The allies fled; and on the march Ameer Bereed died suddenly, whereupon the quarrel between Boorhan Nizam Shah and his nephew-in-law, Ibrahim, was made up, and the good offices rendered at so critical a period by Imad Shah, resulted in the marriage of his daughter, Rubya Sooltana, to the King of Beejapoor, in 1543.

But the peace was only temporary. Boorhan Nizam Shah, burning to revenge the losses he had sustained, and to recover the districts he had been obliged to relinquish, formed a tripartite alliance with Jumsheed Kootub Shah of Golcondah and Ramraj of Beejanugger; and large armies were simultaneously set in motion on the northern, eastern, and southern frontiers of the Beejapoor kingdom. The danger appeared so imminent, that the king put himself unreservedly into the hands of Assud Khan, who, a second time, succeeded in saving the kingdom. The coveted districts were given up to Boorhan Nizam Shah, who was thus detached from the alliance; Ramraj was satisfied with some small concessions; and with Jumsheed Kootub Shah, Beejapoor was strong enough to deal. He was at once attacked by Assud Khan, followed up to Golcondah, and defeated before the gates of his capital, receiving from the Beejapoor general's hand a severe sabre-wound in the face, which disfigured him for life.

Ameer Bereed, "the stirrer up of strife," as he is yet remembered in the Deccan, was dead; but in Ramraj of Beejanugger a kindred spirit had arisen, who once more applied to Boorhan Nizam Shah, and taunting him with his losses in the last campaign, urged him to fresh exertion, offering, at the same time, hearty co-operation. To what extent this was afforded does not appear; but Boorhan Nizam Shah having advanced as far as the Bheema, probably with the intention of coalescing with Ramraj, was defeated near the town of Oorchan with immense loss, comprising 250 elephants and 170 pieces of cannon, with ammunition and camp equipage. In this action Ibrahim Adil Shah is stated to have fought with great valour, killing three antagonists in single combat with his own hand.

About this period the king's disposition seems to have changed rapidly for the worse: and the cruelty and debauchery which, in the end, rendered his death a release to his subjects, were in progress. Boorhan Nizam Shah, in the course of a few months, not only redeemed his losses, but defeated the king in several engagements, once more threatening the very existence of his power. A conspiracy also was formed to depose Ibrahim, and place Abdoola, his brother, on the throne, which was supported by the Portuguese, now become very strong at Goa. These events drove the king to the verge of madness, and frightful executions and tortures of many suspected but innocent persons ensued. Assud Khan withdrew from Court, and was supposed by the Portuguese to favour the rebellion of the Prince Abdoola; but this is not confirmed by Ferishta, nor did the sequel justify the suspicion. The prince himself, protected by the Portuguese, endeavoured to enlist the Kings of Ahmednugger and Golcondah in his cause; and had Assud Khan then joined the purposed league, there is little doubt the Portuguese would have been induced to take the field with their Mahomedan allies, and the deposition of Ibrahim Adil Shah would have followed. But this chance of then obtaining territorial power in the interior of the Deccan was not permitted to them: the faithful and long-tried Assud Khan could not be detached from the personal interests of his sovereign: and an affecting letter from him to the king is quoted by Ferishta, wherein he protests his truth, and prays that the suspicion against him may pass away. Ibrahim Adil Shah was not so far sunk in character as to reject this manly but mournful appeal. He marched from Beejapoor

to Belgaum in January, 1549, but Assud Khan died while the king was on his way. His advance, however, combined with the death of Assud Khan, had the effect of inducing the Portuguese to abandon the cause of the Prince Abdoola, and to return to Goa.

Assud Khan may fairly take rank with the celebrated minister of the Bahmuny king, Mahmood Gawan; both for statesmanship and ability. As a general, he probably exceeded Mahmood Gawan; and his masterly combinations for the safety of the Beejapoor kingdom, and his conduct of several very critical campaigns during two reigns, are unrivalled in Deccan history. On the other hand, he may have been exceeded by Mahmood Gawan in details of executive administration, and in general simplicity and virtue of character. Both, however, are most remarkable instances of high intellect, and the purest integrity amidst great and constantly-recurring temptation. In both cases the sovereignty of the kingdoms they served was virtually in their power on several occasions, and both alike used that power for the good of the State only, with rare fidelity.

After Assud Khan's death the king's affairs were indifferently directed. Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ramraj renewed their united offensive operations against the Beejapoor State, and for the next four years almost constant war existed, with varying success on both sides. In 1533, Boorhan Nizam Shah, then besieging Beejapoor, was taken ill, and soon afterwards died at his capital; and for a time there was peace between Hoosein Nizam Shah, his son and successor, and Ibrahim Adil Shah; but even this did not continue: and though there was no new combination on the part of Ramraj, the Beejapoor army had the worst of several very desultory campaigns. Finally, Ein-ool-Moolk, one of the Beejapoor generals, incensed by the ingratitude and personal insults of the king to himself, rebelled, attacked Beejapoor, and reduced Ibrahim to such straits that he was obliged to send a large sum of money to the Rajah of Beejanugger, and apply for assistance, which being granted, his affairs were once more retrieved. Ibrahim Adil Shah had, however, by constant intoxication and filthy debauchery, completely lost the respect of his subjects; and he fell ill of leprosy, as is believed, from which his sufferings were very dreadful. As these increased, so did his cruelties; and deserted by his physicians, and, as is related, by his family also, he died in 1557, after a reign of nearly twenty-five years; much of which was passed in anxious vicissitude and misfortune. He was buried beside his father and grandfather at Gogi, and beyond a plain covering stone like theirs, there is no monument to his memory. He left two sons and two daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ali.

ALI ADIL SHAH I.

ON the accession of Ali Adil Shah, he once more changed the State creed, and renewed the original Sheea profession of the dynasty. No good fortune or blessing had, it was said, followed the Soonee religion, and its change to Sheea was not opposed. As an instance of his ready wit, an accomplishment for which he was remarkable, Ferishta gives an anecdote which is still current in the Deccan. "One day, his father chanced to "praise God that grace had been given him to see the error of the Sheea faith and embrace the Soonee," upon which the prince replied, "That his Majesty had departed from the faith of his parents, and as there was no higher "virtue than following parental example, it behoved his children to do the same." The king began his reign by cultivating the friendship of the Prince of Beejanugger to a degree hitherto unknown between the kingdoms; and on one occasion when a child of Ramraj died, Ali Adil Shah, with a small escort of a hundred horse, rode to Beejanugger to condole with the family in person. The Rajah's wife even adopted him as her son. On his departure, however, he was not attended out of the city by the Rajah in person, and like his Bahmuny predecessor, conceiving this to be an intended offence, never forgot it. There were enough too of old grudges against the Nizam Shahies, and many reverses to avenge; and demands were accordingly forwarded to Ahmednugger, to which an insulting and indecent reply being returned, Ali Adil Shah and Ramraj united their forces, and ravaged the Ahmednugger domains from north to south with a fearful and still remembered barbarity. Never before had a Hindoo prince been suffered to invade the territory of "the

"faithful," and Ali Adil Shah himself was unable to repress the merciless plunder and massacre carried on by his Hindoo auxiliaries, by whom he was greatly scandalized. This invasion produced an offensive and defensive alliance between the Kings of Ahmednugger and Golcondah, who joined forces in the field, and were opposed by Ali Adil Shah and Ramraj. Subsequently, however, the King of Golcondah abandoned his ally, and uniting with Ali Adil Shah, the first celebrated siege of Ahmednugger ensued; but its defence was prolonged till the rains had set in, when stress of weather obliged the allies to discontinue operations, their armies having suffered immense losses from sickness. During this siege, the scandalous conduct of the Hindoos caused fresh annoyance to the King of Beejapoor, and he seems to have become thoroughly ashamed of the connection. On the other hand, the Hindoo prince grew to despise his Mahomedan colleague, and openly spoke of him and his power in a boastful and contemptuous manner. He saw that Ali Adil Shah alone was no match for him; and, indeed, at this time the power of the Hindoo kingdom was at its zenith: the Mahomedans had made no impression whatever upon the country beyond the line of the Toongbuddra and Krishna rivers, and the whole of the South owned the paramount sway of the Rajahs of Beejanugger.

On his return to his capital, Ramraj began systematic encroachments upon Ali Adil Shah's territory: and, remonstrance being of no avail, the Beejapoor king began to consider the probability of engaging all four Mahomedan kings of the Deccan in a crusade against Beejanugger. Ibrahim Kootub Shah of Golcondah, whose dominions had suffered even more than Beejapoor, was the first applied to. This prince at once gave his adhesion to the plan, and dispatched Moostafa Khan Ardistany, an intelligent officer of his court, to Beejapoor, with directions to proceed to Ahmednugger if Ali Adil Shah should be found steadfast. No hesitation appeared to exist at Beejapoor; and the Golcondah ambassador, proceeding from Beejapoor direct to Ahmednugger, had little difficulty in engaging Hoosein Nizam Shah in the confederation against one by whom so many cruelties had been perpetrated. Mutual differences were for a time forgotten; and it was arranged that Hoosein Nizam Shah should give his daughter, Chand Beebee, who proved afterwards one of the most remarkable of Deccan women, in marriage to Ali Adil Shah, receiving the daughter of that king for his own son. No difficulty was experienced with Ali Bereed Shah of Beeder, who had meanwhile succeeded his father, Ameer Bereed; but Ismail Shah, of Berar, probably from his distance from the scene of action, does not appear to have joined the confederacy.

Where so much encroachment had occurred, grounds of quarrel were not wanting with Ramraj, whose haughtiness was becoming more and more unendurable; and to give colour for a final breach with him, Ali Adil Shah now demanded the restitution of the Rachore Dooab, and other districts which had been taken from Beejapoor. As had been expected, the Mahomedan envoy was expelled from Beejanugger with insult and indignity; and henceforth there was no further hesitation on the part of the allies. The rains were over, the country was full of forage, and the four kings, with their respective armies, met near Beejapoor and advanced upon the town of Talikôta, which was probably their head quarters. The famous battle which ensued is usually known by the name of this town; but it was in reality fought near the right bank of the Krishna river, about thirty miles south from Talikôta, and five or six miles south-west from the ford by which the Mahomedan army crossed. This ford lies between the village of Ingulgi on the left bank, and Tôndihâl on the right; and some of the earthworks by which the ford was protected, are still traceable near the latter village. The battle-field is an open plain south-west of Tôndihâl, which then, as now, was most likely covered with corn-fields.

The Hindoo prince was not slow to meet his enemies. He sent on his youngest brother with 20,000 cavalry, 500 elephants, and 100,000 foot, to secure the passage of the river, which, for twenty miles below, and a very considerable distance above, could only be crossed at this ford. His elder brother with a like host as a support, remained a few miles in the rear. Ramraj followed with the main body of the army, and took up his position in the rear of his sons, at a comparatively short distance. Ferishta says ten miles, but it was not nearly so much. When the allied troops arrived at the ford, it was found impossible to cross the river in face of the fire which could be concentrated on the comparatively narrow passage over which the army must pass, by the heavy artillery of the enemy; and owing to the great breadth of the river, no impression could be made by the artillery of the allies on the strong field-works of the opposite bank. A council of war was held, therefore, on an eminence above the bank of the river overlooking the ford (which is still shown), and it

was determined, if possible, to draw the enemy away from their impregnable position by manœuvring along the left bank, with the apparent intention of crossing at another ford higher up—Danoor or Kupila.

The Mahomedan army then moved leisurely along the left bank for three days, attaining no greater distance than could be covered by a rapid march back; and the wisdom and judgment of this manœuvre were proved by the sequel. The progress of the Mahomedans was followed and watched by the whole of the united Hindoo armies; and their field-works at the ford entirely abandoned. It is even supposed that the greatest body of the huge and unwieldy host moved up the river to the next ford at Kupila, and began entrenching themselves, as had been done at their first ground; be this as it may, the Mahomedans found their ruse had succeeded perfectly, and simultaneously doubling back by night, reached the ford at Ingulgi and crossed it, without any opposition whatever, during the forenoon of the following day—each division taking up its ground in order of the line of battle which had been determined on. During the night no alarm appears to have been felt by the Hindoos, who, concentrating their forces at the camp of their Prince Ramraj, awaited attack with confidence in the plain between Kupila Sungum, and Hoongoondah.

The right wing of the Mahomedans was commanded by Ali Adil Shah; the left, by Ibrahim Kootub Shah and Ali Bereed Shah; and the centre, with the artillery for which the Ahmednugger State was always famous, by Hoosein Nizam Shah: and the whole moved forward in close order. On the other side, Kootub Shah was opposed by Yeltumraj, the brother of the Hindoo prince; Ali Adil Shah, by Venket Adri, another brother; while the central post was taken by the Rajah himself; and 2000 elephants, and 1000 pieces of cannon, were, according to Ferishta, placed along the lines. The Mahomedans were received with vast flights of rockets: and spirited charges by the wings of the Hindoo army threw both wings of the allies, at first, into some disorder; but the centre was not shaken, and Hoosein Nizam Shah pushed on rapidly. The Hindoo Prince Ramraj, quitting the state litter in which he was carried, seated himself on the ground, and began to distribute rewards; but his division gradually giving way before the Nizam Shahies, he again took his seat in the litter and was being carried off the field, when it was set down by the bearers, who ran off, and Ramraj mounting a horse, was immediately surrounded and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Chuleby Roomy Khan, a Turk, who commanded the artillery, and being sent on to Hoosein Nizam Shah, was instantly beheaded, and his head stuck on a long spear, to be seen by the enemy. Upon this event the Hindoos fled in all directions, and were mercilessly slaughtered by the victorious Mahomedans; 100,000 were computed to have fallen: and though this number may have been impossible, yet the effect of pursuit by an army which was wholly composed of cavalry, fresh, and in the highest order, upon one composed, for the most part, of foot, without discipline, or experience of acting in concert, cannot have been otherwise than very terrible. Never before had Hindoos and Mahomedans met in such numbers, nor ever before had so decisive a battle been fought in the Deccan. Each party had staked its all upon the contest, and Ramraj for this occasion had employed the whole force of his dominions. There is no record of the number of the Mahomedan armies, but they were perhaps not under 100,000 men. On the other hand, Ramraj had not probably less than double, or 200,000, perhaps more in the field; and allowing for all exaggeration, the forces that met in actual fight could hardly have been fewer than 150,000. The result need hardly be related. The Mahomedans gained an enormous booty, and followed up their splendid victory by the invasion of the Beejanugger kingdom. The capital was occupied and deliberately destroyed, few buildings escaping the general devastation. It was never again restored or inhabited: and the waste of ruins which now occupy the vast enciente of this then noble and populous city, testify to its ancient grandeur and the pitiless destruction which fell upon it. The head of Ramraj was preserved by the person who beheaded him,—the hereditary executioner of the Ahmednugger State—and was exhibited, on the anniversary of the battle, as long as the kingdom remained, and even until a very recent period by his descendants; nay, it may even yet be in existence. At Beejapoor the event was commemorated by a stone head, with an open mouth, let into the wall of the fort, forming the opening of one of the sewers.

Mutual jealousy of each other, perhaps, prevented a division of the Hindoo kingdom among the Mahomedans, and no accession of territory ensued to any, beyond the recovery of the districts which had been wrested from them. The Rajah Venket Adri fixed his residence at Penkonda, on the borders of Mysore, with a now very limited dominion. Most of the tributaries and feudatories of Beejanugger having declared independence, the kingdom, which had defied all attempts at Mahomedan encroachment for nearly 300 years, hence-

forward sunk into insignificance, and appears no more in the political history of the Deccan. It struggled on through the conquests of Aurungzeeb, to the period of Tippoo Sooltan, who annexed to his dominions most of its best provinces; and its descendant was confirmed in what remained to the family after the English reduction of the Mysore kingdom. Its present lineal representative resides at Anagoondy (the *elephant corner* of the old capital, a picturesque town, on the banks of the Toongbuddra, situated amidst a wild and strange group of rocks), in the enjoyment of the present small remnant of his ancestors' great kingdom, and a pension of 2,000*l.* a year which he receives from the British Government. He is a simple, well-educated, country gentleman; and the writer of this memoir retains a pleasant recollection of a visit paid to him in 1860, when the Prince, for so he is, laying aside his ancestral dignity, showed him his garden and pavilion on an island in the river, entertained him with great hospitality, and, almost unassisted, took him up to Beejanugger in his own basket boat, paddling and *poling* him through the rapids and shallows of the river, with no small skill, spirit, and strength. "I am poor," he said, "but my family is not without a representative: while of "those of all our ancient enemies, not a trace, or a descendant exists."

The events of the reign of Ali Adil Shah need not, perhaps, be followed minutely, for they present no new features for record in this general sketch of the Adil Shahy dynasty. In the year 1569, the king made an attempt to recover Goa from the Portuguese, but was repulsed with great loss; in lieu of defeat by them, however, he succeeded in taking the almost impregnable fort of Adoni or Adwani, which had been one of the strongholds of the Beejanugger kings, and added the districts dependent on it to his dominions. Fearing afterwards that this new conquest might arouse the jealousy of Moortuza Nizam Shah, who had succeeded the king Hoosein at Ahmednugger, he requested him to come to an interview, when, by a new treaty, the Ahmednugger king was left at liberty to annex Berar, while Ali Adil Shah continued his annexation of Beejanugger territory, in which he steadily persisted for several years. In 1578, the "Bergies," or Beydur militia of the ancient Beejanugger kingdom, rebelled, and were not subdued, the troops sent against them being unable to make any impression on them. It is not perhaps generally known that, finding violence of no avail, Ali Adil Shah resorted to conciliatory measures, and took many of their chiefs into his service, employing them in the police and frontier duties of his kingdom. Among these Beydur chiefs was the ancestor of the late Rajah of Shorapoor, of whom further mention will be made hereafter.

In the year 1580, Ali Adil Shah was assassinated by one of his servants in a private brawl: and having had no male children, was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrahim, whom he had adopted, and declared his heir in the previous year. The crusade against the only rival that existed to the Mahomedan power of the Deccan is the great political event of this reign; and the perpetual struggles and campaigns with the Ahmednugger State, which continued to the last, do not present any remarkable features for recapitulation. Most of the time and power of Ali Adil Shah, in the latter part of his reign, seems to have been devoted to the extension of his dominions to the southward, in the direction of Mysore; and had he succeeded in establishing himself at Penkonda, the capital of the Beejanugger dynasty after Beejanugger was destroyed, there is little doubt that a great part of the southern portion of the Peninsula would have been conquered. Penkonda was, however, never taken by him; and the Rajah, Venket Adri, continued to maintain the independence of his family for a considerable period afterwards.

Ali Adil Shah was a munificent patron of architects during his reign, and added more to the splendid remains now existent at Beejapoor than any other monarch who had preceded him. The greatest of these was the Jumma mosque, of which views and architectural details are given in this work, and which will be described in its proper place. The city wall was also completed and strengthened. The former fortifications were constructed when defensive and field artillery were in limited use: many of the bastions were too confined to admit of the exercise of heavy cannon upon them, and the ramparts too narrow to allow of their transport from place to place. On all occasions, too, when Beejapoor was attacked of late years by the Ahmednugger forces, it had suffered from the fire of the heavy siege guns which were used by the armies of that State with great effect, and the artillery service in Beejapoor was necessarily largely augmented. The art of casting guns, however, seems never to have been brought to that perfection in Beejapoor, that it was in Ahmednugger; and the heavy cannon of Beejapoor, some of which were twenty to thirty feet in length and intended for the most part to carry stone shot, were constructed of bars of iron welded together, and strengthened by iron rings.

They were mounted and used as swivels, the iron clamps and pivots supporting and traversing them being let into huge blocks of stone placed in the centre of each bastion, as they are now to be seen on the walls of Beejapoor, Beeder, and other great Deccan fortresses. Besides these, cast iron guns were obtained from the Portuguese, but none of large calibre; and for the defence of the walls at other points, and generally, iron wall-pieces, mounted also as swivels, termed "jezails," or "gingals," were in general use.

The original city of Beejapoor, which was contained within the fortified enceinte, was by this time much too small for its population, and a vast extent of ground was occupied to the westward by new streets, regularly laid out at right angles, interspersed with the palaces and gardens of the nobility and rich merchants. This portion of Beejapoor was then probably three miles in length by about the same distance, or perhaps somewhat less, in breadth, and was intended to be surrounded by a wall and ditch, the traces of which, in large mounds, and excavations for the ditch, are still to be seen. Portions of these mounds were even faced with stone, but never completed; and the troubles which afterwards fell upon the kingdom, and the waste of its resources in war, combined to render so vast a design impossible of execution.

Ali Adil Shah, during his life, had begun a splendid mausoleum for himself and his family within the city. It was in progress at his death, and would no doubt have been finished but for his untimely end. What exists gives an impression of lightness and elegance in architecture which was before unknown in Beejapoor, and agrees in style with the Jumma Musjid, and a mausoleum, also incomplete, situated near the village of Allapoor, to the east of the city. Of the style of architecture of the reign, however, the small mosque called the Mecca Musjid, in the citadel, is perhaps of all the most beautiful. It consists of twelve arches with domed centres, and the stone ornaments of the pulpit, the brackets, and cornices, as well as of the pillars from which the arches, shafts, and groins of the roof spring, are carved with a degree of taste and finish which proves the great skill of the stonemasons of this period. The material of all these buildings was the basaltic trap of the locality, which, underlying the shallow surface soil, was quarried on the spot without difficulty.

In the citadel itself, the Anund Mahal (Palace of Bliss), the Royal Harem, the Adalut Mahal, or Courts of Justice, and the Sona Mahal, or Gilded Palace, are stated to have been the erections of Ali Adil Shah. They are all dismantled now; but their massive, roofless walls seem to bid defiance to time, and attest their original magnificent dimensions and convenience. They are for the most part of two and three stories, the apartments being situated round a great hall of audience, which was open to the front. They were surrounded, too, by gardens, which were laid out in raised walks, with fountains and pavilions at intervals, the borders of the walks being composed of stone lattice-screens in tasteful arabesque patterns. The most useful work of this prince was, however, the aqueducts for the supply of water to the citadel and palaces, which were constructed with a perfect knowledge of hydraulic science, and were admirable of their kind. The water was brought from a large tank or reservoir on the high ground to the east of the city; and traces of the pipes are found upon some of the highest portions of the walls, and to at least the first story of the palaces, to which the water service extended. These pipes were of earthenware—terra cotta, in fact—laid in beautiful white cement of great strength and tenacity, surrounded by rubble masonry. They fitted into each other by joints, as is at present the usual form, these joints being closed by the cement in which they were laid. Ferishta mentions that the aqueducts conveyed water through all the streets of the original city, which was quite possible; and many portions of them are still traceable, and might probably be used were the reservoirs in good repair. All these evidences of the excellency which constructive art had attained in the reign of Ali Adil Shah I, prove that a higher standard of civilization was in progress, and that the Adil Shahy dynasty, in this respect, was emulating, if not surpassing, that of the Moghul Emperors of Dehli. It is noticed also by Ferishta that the first ambassadors from the Moghul Emperor, Akbar, arrived in Beejapoor during the king's life, and were there at his death. The object of their embassy is not mentioned in his history; but, from the events transpiring at Dehli, it is most probable that interference in the affairs of the Deccan was then meditated, nor indeed was it long delayed.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II. was nine years old at his uncle's death; and a regency ensued, at the head of which was the celebrated Chand Beebee, the Ahmednugger princess, whose marriage to Ali Adil Shah has been previously mentioned. Kamil Khan, a Deccany officer, conducted the affairs of the State in public; but it was not long before he attempted to set aside the dowager Queen, and to usurp the whole authority of the State. He had not, however, considered the consequences of disrespect to so determined a woman as Chand Beebee, who, perceiving his intention, directed Kishwur Khan, another officer of rank, to remove Kamil Khan; an order which was instantly obeyed. Kamil Khan at first tried to conceal himself; and eventually let himself down by his turban from the back of the citadel, and escaped, intending to fly to Ahmednugger. He was pursued, however, taken, and beheaded. Kishwur Khan was now appointed to the office of minister: and the usual result followed, in treachery to the Queen dowager and the assassination of Moostafa Khan, a nobleman sincerely devoted to her interest, who held a high place in popular estimation. When the latter act had been effected, the Queen was removed from Beejapoor, under circumstances of great personal indignity, and confined in Sattara. But it was not long before the party in her interest, at the head of which was the Abyssinian Yekhlass Khan, united their forces and advanced on the capital; where Kishwur Khan, seeing the coalition would be too strong for him, and experiencing at the time unmistakeable demonstrations of his own unpopularity, escaped with a small troop of horse, and proceeded to Ahmednugger. Here, however, he was not received, and repairing to Golcondah, was assassinated there by one of Moostafa Khan's relatives, who had followed him for the purpose.

On the flight of Kishwur Khan, Yekhlass Khan became regent, and the Queen dowager was released, and again received charge of the King's person. Among the nobles, however, and the various parties of Deccanies and Abyssinians, the same factious intrigues continued, to the great distraction of state affairs. Brawls and duels in the streets became events of daily occurrence, and led to deplorable confusion. By turns, even within a few days, the fortunes of one or other side rose or fell, and the enemies of the State did not fail to take advantage of these domestic disturbances. Mahomed Koolly Kootub Shah of Golcondah, Moortuza Nizam Shah of Ahmednugger, and the Ameer of Berar, allied themselves to reduce Beejapoor; and having assembled their forces, laid siege to Shahdroog, or Nuldroog, one of the strongest of the frontier fortresses of Beejapoor. This fort was originally built by Rajah Nul, one of the ancient Hindoo Kings of the Deccan, and the fortifications were greatly extended and strengthened by the kings of the Bahmuny dynasty. It occupies a high irregular projection of basalt rock which, on two sides, north and east, is washed by the Boree river, and on the south rises from the valley about forty feet, the cliff being increased and strengthened by a wide and deep dry ditch. On three sides, therefore, the fort is a precipice, the two river faces being from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet to the bed of the stream, for the most part perpendicular, and, except at the north-east corner, quite inaccessible. On the west, where the neck of the enceinte is narrow, there is a wide dry ditch, with a rampart and bastions, and a fausse braye, having treble gates with traverses, and a covered way from the main street of the town into the ditch. In the fort is a handsome mosque, some arsenals and barracks of great solidity, and a noble round cavalier, seventy feet high, on which several of the ancient cannon still remain, and which was intended to overlook the whole fort and the plain beyond. The most remarkable feature of this fort is, however, the huge masonry dam thrown across the river in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I, which is sixty-five feet in perpendicular height, and upwards of three hundred feet in length. This dam arrests the current of the river and holds it in a reservoir which extends, nearly a mile, to a point above the town, thus ensuring an inexhaustible supply of water for the garrison. In flood, the water of the river pours over the top of the dam in a fine cataract; and at other periods of the year escapes through a sluice left in its crest. In the body of the work are a suite of small, but very elegant apartments, richly ornamented by carved mullioned windows, which look out on the valley and pool below; and, by an ingenious contrivance for the escape of the water from above,

could be inhabited even when the river was in flood and the water pouring over the dam. The whole of this noble work has never required repair in any part, and is, as well as the fort, worthy of a visit. On the occasion of the siege of the latter by the confederate kings it was bravely defended; and its commander, well knowing its value, refused capitulation. The operations of this siege are still perfectly traceable; the mounds of the enemy's batteries on the table-land to the south are yet existing. The effect of their fire at a distance of 600 yards must have been very considerable, and show the practice to have been good: the parapets of the bastions and curtains on the south face having been demolished, and the curtain at the south-eastern angle breached. There is a valley between the fort and the table-land, and, according to local tradition, when the breach was reported practicable, an assault was made, which was repulsed with such severe loss to the besiegers that the siege was abandoned.

It is most probable, however, that it was evident to the confederate kings that operations against Shahdroog were a waste of time; and on raising the siege they marched directly on Beejapoor, where, Ferishta records, they arrived with 40,000 cavalry. There were not more than 3000 troops in the city; but succours having arrived under Ein-ool-Moolk and Ankoos Khan,* the confederates were kept in check. During heavy rains, however, part of the wall fell down, and nothing but dissensions among the leaders of the besieging army saved the capital; for the two generals who had arrived with reinforcements at first went over with their troops to the enemy. At this crisis of common danger, the Abyssinian chiefs resorted to the Queen dowager and resigned their offices, declaring themselves unwilling to retain power in opposition to other parties, but ready to fight in defence of the kingdom. Thus encouraged, the Queen formed a new ministry: the generals who had joined the enemy returned to their allegiance: and factious intrigue having been overcome for the time, the confederates, now suffering from the attacks of the Beejapoor light troops, raised the siege, and departed each to his own dominions. The person by whom this change in the gloomy prospects of the dynasty was effected, Shah Abool Hassan, did not long, however, survive the distinction he had achieved. In the course of two or three months he had, as Ferishta records, brought together an army of 20,000 horse: and a month afterwards had not only relieved the city from its twelve months' siege, but pursued the King of Golcondah and defeated him under the walls of his own capital. It might have been expected that the gratitude which all professed for these eminent services would have been evinced in his promotion to further honours; but no sooner had Dilawur Khan regained his authority as regent minister, than he destroyed the Abyssinian party by banishing the leaders, and the unfortunate Abool Hassan was first blinded and afterwards put to death. In the sequel, however, Dilawur Khan, who had also confined the Queen dowager, retrieved the affairs of the kingdom, and for eight years, during which no war occurred, governed it with much skill and ability.

In the year 1586, the king was married at Shahdroog to Mullika Jehan, sister of the King of Golcondah, who accompanied her. The King of Ahmednugger was, however, jealous of the alliance between Beejapoor and Golcondah, and threatened war; but a Beejapoor army was despatched to the northern frontier, and the marriage was then allowed to proceed. The king did not, however, escape from the trammels of his minister's power till the year 1589, when, during one of the never-ceasing campaigns against the Ahmednugger forces, Dilawur Khan was deserted by some of his own leading generals, who were probably tired of his domination. These were joined by the king, and Dilawur Khan, narrowly escaping with his life, took refuge at Ahmednugger. This revolution having been accomplished, to the satisfaction of all parties in the State, Ibrahim Adil Shah formally ascended the throne, and afterwards conducted the affairs of State in person. The Sheea profession of faith was renewed; but no persecution was allowed in regard to Soonies or other dissenters, and in all respects the young king's conduct was marked by such justice, clemency, and moderation, as Ferishta records, that his people forgot their late troubles, and had reason to congratulate themselves on the happy deliverance of their sovereign from the thraldom of his late minister.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, however, espoused the cause of Dilawur Khan: and in 1592 dispatched him with an army to reduce Sholapoor and Shahdroog. This was met by the king, Ibrahim, in person; where, in strange inconsistence with his generally merciful and open character, he invited Dilawur Khan to his camp,

* A lineal descendant of this famous general and minister, by name Sofi Sahib, still lives at Sugger, in the Shorapoor district, about sixty miles east from Beejapoor. The stately mausoleum of Ankoos Khan, near that town, is in perfect repair, and its original endowments in land and rice fields enable his descendants to live respectably.

received him with apparent kindness, and immediately afterwards, directing him to be seized and blinded, confined him in the fortress of Sattara, where he died. That Dilawur Khan was a double traitor there is no doubt; but the act was one of mean and treacherous revenge, which has left a blot on what was otherwise a fine character. The war with Boorhan Shah lasted till the rains of 1592, in which his army suffered sorely from pestilence, and was eventually obliged to retire to the capital in a very lamentable condition.

The year 1593 is marked by two notable events. The first was the reduction of the petty Hindoo princes of Malabar, who, being tributaries, had assumed independence during the late troubles. These were being reduced by the king's general, when a new and more serious trouble arose out of the rebellion of the Prince Ismail, the king's brother, who had been under detention in the fort of Belgaum. The cause of this prince was espoused by Ein-ool-Moolk, one of the great military chiefs of the kingdom,—a person who seems to have passed his life in perpetual changes of party,—and by very many of the commanders and local authorities. Ein-ool-Moolk, professing loyalty—having received the king's orders to storm Belgaum, and put down the rebellion—marched with a large force to the scene of disturbance, where, so far from acting in accordance with his profession, he joined the Prince Ismail, who was proclaimed king. Ibrahim Adil Shah had, however, other adherents, who proved faithful; and in a partial action, Ein-ool-Moolk was wounded, and falling from his horse, his head was struck off and sent to Beejapoor, where it was fired from a cannon. This event entirely broke up the rebellion; but the prince was nevertheless put to death.

No local trouble, however, could occur at Beejapoor, without producing corresponding effects in the ever-restless Ahmednugger kingdom. Most of these may be attributed to the monomania, or perhaps insanity, of Boorhan Nizam Shah II, who on this occasion endeavoured to excite the Rajah of Penkonda against Beejapoor, and himself took the field, in 1595. He died, however, almost immediately, and was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who was killed in the action which followed with the Beejapoor army, after a reign of only four months. Ibrahim Adil Shah had moved to Shahdroog for this campaign, and returned to Beejapoor, making, on the 9th of September, 1596, a triumphal entry into the city, where much alarm had been created by false intelligence of a defeat. At this time a venerable Syud arrived from Mecca with a box containing two hairs of the beard of the prophet Mahomed; and these were subsequently deposited in the palace on the outer edge of the citadel which had been used for audiences, reviews of troops, and the like ceremonies, and was henceforward considered a sacred place. It still exists as it was at that period, and will be illustrated and described in the course of the present work.

Henceforward, the recurrence of war with the Ahmednugger kingdom was prevented by the distress and confusion into which the affairs of that State fell after the death of Ibrahim Nizam Shah. It was proposed by one party that his infant son should be then recognized as king, and a regency formed, of which Chand Beebee, the dowager Queen of Beejapoor, should be the head; but this course was opposed, and the cause of another presumed descendant from the Nizam Shahy kings espoused by Meean Munjoo, the head of the Deccany party, in opposition to the Queen. This person, despairing of carrying his point, wrote to the Prince Moorad Meerza, then in Guzerat, to come to his assistance, promising him the treasures and dominions of the kingdom. Other claimants and pretenders to the throne also appeared and were variously supported; and the general confusion presented to the Emperor Akbar that opportunity for interference and conquest of the frontier Deccan state which he had long desired, and for which he had been constantly on the watch. He therefore wrote to Moorad to move on Ahmednugger without delay; and on the 14th of December, 1595, the first imperial forces which had penetrated to the Deccan since the establishment of the Bahmuny dynasty in 1347, arrived at Ahmednugger under the personal command of the prince, who found the fort invested by a detachment of his own army, which had shortly preceded him, and defended by the dowager Queen, Chand Beebee, in person.

It would be out of place in this memoir to trace the gradual approach of the Moghul forces towards the Deccan, and the events by which the independent Mahomedan kingdoms of Guzerat, Malwa, and Khandesh, gradually fell under the Imperial sway. In most instances they were the results of intestine commotion, such as have been recorded in Deccan history, when the Moghuls, invited by one party or another, as at Ahmednugger, or profiting by general distraction, established themselves, and never afterwards relinquished the advantages they had gained. From this memorable siege, however, no present benefit resulted to the Moghuls. The Queen dowager defended Ahmednugger with an energy and fortitude which

have had few equals in any history: and by her personal bravery, her attention to the sick and wounded, her constant presence on the walls, and direction of the counter mines, and, finally, by her defence of the breach in which she fought, sword in hand and clad in mail armour, against the Moghul assault—she succeeded in saving the fort. Meanwhile, she appealed urgently for assistance to her nephew Ibrahim Adil Shah, who, apprehensive of further Moghul movement southwards, had marched with a considerable force to Shahdroog, where he was joined by the Ahmednugger troops then in the field. Had these united forces then struck in boldly, it is probable that the partial dismemberment of the Ahmednugger kingdom would have been averted, and the footing gained by the Moghuls deferred to an indefinite period; but Ibrahim Adil Shah, most likely dreading collision with the Emperor, made no forward movement. During the siege, the Prince Moorad's army had suffered severely from sickness, and supplies and forage became very scarce; and being apprehensive of an attack from the allies, he demanded the cession of Berar, as the price of his forbearance from renewed operations. On the day after the assault, when the breach had been temporarily repaired, the Queen dowager wrote in earnest entreaty to her nephew to hurry on and save her. Her despatch was intercepted by the Prince Moorad, who, in a chivalrous spirit, forwarded it to its destination, adding, by way of taunt, that the sooner Ibrahim Adil Shah arrived the better. But it was too late: the Queen was reduced to the last extremity, the fort was barely tenable, and succour was still distant. She therefore reluctantly signed the treaty, and the Imperialists immediately raised the siege and marched to take possession of their new acquisition. Three days afterwards, Ibrahim Adil Shah arrived, but made no efforts either to follow the Moghuls or to interfere with the cession which had been extorted, for he shortly afterwards returned to Beejapoor.

The late narrow escape from destruction, had no effect upon local factions at Ahmednugger; and Deccanies and Abyssinians were again arrayed against each other on the often-recurring subject of contention —the chief authority (regency) during the minority of the king. The Queen dowager herself desired this power; but it was usurped by a Deccany officer, Mahomed Khan; and to escape from it she called upon Ibrahim Adil Shah for assistance. At this time Mahomed Khan had applied for aid to the Moghul general-in-chief, Khan Khanan, then establishing the imperial authority in Berar; and that officer, to whom the invitation was a welcome one, would have marched for Ahmednugger at once, had he not been obliged to meet the combined armies of Beejapoor, Golcondah, and Ahmednugger, which, at the instance of the Queen dowager, and united to co-operation by a common danger, had advanced to attack him. A very severe general action was fought between the Imperial and Deccan troops, near the village of Sonepoor, on the Godavery, on the 26th of January, 1597, which continued partially for two days, the result being the defeat of the Deccan armies, and their precipitate retreat to their respective dominions. Disagreements between the Prince Moorad and Khan Khanan prevented this victory from being followed up, and the general was subsequently removed. This, for a brief time, saved the Ahmednugger kingdom; but a fresh struggle for local power was in progress between the Queen dowager and an Abyssinian eunuch, whom she had created minister. Both parties appealed to Ibrahim Adil Shah, who attempted a reconciliation in vain, and the intemperate conduct of the eunuch, who attacked a detachment of the Imperial troops at Beer, again brought the Moghuls against the capital. At this juncture, 1599, Prince Moorad died, and the Prince Daniel was sent with Khan Khanan to the Deccan, the Emperor following them, and dispatching them to besiege Ahmednugger for the second time. The brave Queen Chand was still in the fort with her infant grandson, and held it valiantly; but surrounded by treachery, she saw no hope of a successful resistance, and having advised honourable capitulation to the garrison, was murdered in the tumult which ensued, by the very Deccany party to which, throughout her eventful life, she had been devoted.

There is no Mahomedan princess of the Deccan whose character and deeds have survived more vividly, both at Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, the lapse of time; nor among the many local historical legends and tales is there one which to this day possesses more interest among the people, than her celebrated defence of Ahmednugger. Brave and generous to a fault, Chand Beebee sealed her devotion to the State by her death under events of peculiar trial and national distress; and she is one of the instances in Indian history, of a lady of her rank evincing not only great political sagacity, but fortitude and self-reliance of a higher character than what proceeds from the fatalism of her creed, under circumstances of extreme personal danger. There is a portrait of her, painted during her life, in the possession of a respectable Mahomedan family at Beejapoor, which is most interesting, not only as an exquisite work of art, but as giving a perfect conception of the beauty

of her features, and their resolute yet feminine character. It is a profile, and she is represented as very fair, with grey or blue eyes, a thin aquiline nose, and a light and graceful figure. It is evidently genuine, and was most probably painted by a Persian artist at Beejapoor.

Shortly after the murder of the Queen the fort was stormed, and the infant king carried off by the Moghuls, with the accumulated treasures and jewels of a long and wealthy dynasty. At this period, the State might have perished utterly; but it was saved for a brief existence by Mullik Umber, the head of the Abyssinian party, who, from his great political and administrative ability, was one of the most remarkable men of Deccan history. This officer rallied the remaining troops of the State, and having set up a collateral descendant of the Nizam Shahy family as king, under the title of Mortuza Nizam Shah II, fixed upon Dowlatabad as the capital, and governed in the king's name. He not only preserved what was left of the kingdom; but by admirable revenue settlements and assessments, restored confidence, and considerably increased the income of the State. Many of these settlement papers are still extant in villages of the Deccan and among the records of district officers: and prove not only the fairness of revenue valuation of land, but complete survey registrations of property and cultivation, which have formed the basis, as may be alleged, of every succeeding revision. Mullik Umber not only maintained and improved the kingdom, but recovered some of its lost provinces from the Moghuls, and on his death, in 1626, the Nizam Shahy State had again attained a respectable position in Deccan affairs. But this proved to be very temporary. On Mullik Umber's death, the king, who had resided partly at Owsah and afterwards at Purendah, suddenly assumed charge of affairs, and imprisoned Futih Khan, the son of his late minister; and for a while it appeared as though the Moghuls were indifferent to the prosecution of their interests in the Deccan, and that the Nizam Shahy kingdom might regain some of its former influence. But though the reign of Jehangeer had been for the most part a peaceful one for the Deccan, that of his son and successor, Shah Jehan, was very different. Mortuza Nizam Shah fell once more into trouble, and finding himself deserted by his officers, released Futih Khan, and again employed him as minister. It is probable, from what ensued, that Futih Khan had already made terms with the Moghul Emperor; for he forthwith imprisoned his unfortunate sovereign, and strangled him in the year 1631, and the kingdom was immediately overrun by the Moghul troops, and henceforth ceased to exist.

Thus perished the Nizam Shahy kingdom, which had assumed independence almost simultaneously with Beejapoor, in 1489. Its fate has, it may be thought, no connection with the immediate subject of this memoir; but as it was impossible, throughout their co-existence, to separate their history without breaking the threads of the Beejapoor narrative, and as the political and dynastic deaths of both resulted from the same cause, it became necessary to show how that cause arose, and how it progressed. This, it is hoped, will account for the present digression and some anticipation of time. After the fall of its capital the Moghuls possessed themselves of a great portion of the Ahmednugger State. Berar, it will be remembered, was ceded to them at the first siege of Ahmednugger, by Chand Beebee, the Queen dowager, and the provinces west of the capital followed. These two portions, with Khandesh, were formed into an Imperial province, and the Prince Daniel was nominated as viceroy. Alarmed by these conquests, Ibrahim Adil Shah, on the arrival of the Emperor Akbar at Boorhanpoor, sent ambassadors to him with costly presents and overtures of peaceful alliance; and, for the more complete establishment of friendship, the daughter of Ibrahim Adil Shah was asked by the Emperor in marriage for his son Daniel. It is probable that, on this occasion, the secret partition treaty, which related to the division of the Ahmednugger dominions between Beejapoor and the Moghuls, was executed. The terms of it afterwards transpired, though they were never observed. In return, and to escort the bride when she should be old enough to join her husband, one of the Moghul nobility was sent to Beejapoor; and the Emperor, having firmly established the first step towards the conquest of the Deccan, and proclaimed himself its Emperor, returned to Dehli in 1602, where he died on October 13, 1605. Before his death, however, he received the news of the Princess of Beejapoor and her dowry having been faithfully delivered to the Prince Daniel at Pyetun, on the Godavery, where the nuptial ceremonies were performed: but in less than a year afterwards the prince died of excessive drinking at Boorhanpoor, and the widowed princess returned to her own family.

It is unfortunate that, after this period, the record of the domestic transactions of the Beejapoor kingdom should have ceased, and that the admirable history of Ferishta was not continued by other authors through the reigns of Mahmood Adil Shah and his successors. The course of the Beejapoor kingdom, therefore, has to be

traced through collateral events, and from other sources, which, though they afford correct general information, and material for a consecutive narrative, are wanting in the fulness of detail and charm of narration which belong to particular history. There is nothing in the history of the times and the reign of Jehangeer, Emperor of Dehli, to lead to a supposition that the latter part of Ibrahim Adil Shah's reign was not as prosperous as the first. The Moghuls were yet at a distance, and were busy consolidating their recent conquests. The Nizam Shahy kingdom still existed, and might yet be preserved as a barrier against Moghul encroachment. From Golcondah, except perhaps occasional neighbourly quarrels, there was nothing to apprehend; and it was to the south, in the direction of Penkonda, and the central and southern parts of the peninsula, that military operations continued. There is little doubt that this frontier fortress and capital was a fertile object of contention between the still existing Hindoo and Mahomedan Princes; but the Hindoo family was becoming weaker, and though Penkonda was occupied and reoccupied in turn by each power, it remained finally in the hands of the Mahomedans, probably in the time of Mahmood Adil Shah, the successor of Ibrahim. These changes of occupation are unmistakeably proved by the strange admixture of Hindoo and Mahomedan architecture on the walls and in the very buildings of the city.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II. died in the year 1626, being in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign. His was the longest, and, in spite of some early vicissitudes, the most prosperous reign of his dynasty; and during it the kingdom had perhaps reached its greatest territorial and political power. He was succeeded by his son Mahmood, who was in the sixteenth year of his age. The greatest memorial of the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. is his own mausoleum, which is situated in the plain on the west side of the city, about half a mile beyond its walls. This edifice, in all its parts, is by far the most beautiful specimen of Deccan Mahomedan architecture existing. It is in every respect entirely perfect, and will be illustrated and described in the present work. Three miles from the western end of the city was the small village of Toorweh, where, in the valley below it, were situated some of the royal gardens. Here the king built several palaces, which are now in ruins. They are of the same style of execution as those in the fort, and must have been of equally grand and commodious dimensions. These palaces were built in 1604; and at that time the capital had probably attained its greatest size and splendour. The mounds on both sides of the broad street between the city gate and Toorweh, prove that for three miles this noble line of communication existed without a break; and north and south of it, to a great distance in each direction, are series of streets, mosques, temples, and palaces without number—a vast waste of ruin which has no parallel in India.

MAHMOOD ADIL SHAH.

IT will be remembered that three great parties had from the first existed in the Beejapoor kingdom; the foreign, the Deccany, and the Abyssinian. Of these, the foreign, to which the kingdom had been indebted for its preservation on many occasions, was nearly or quite extinct at the period of the accession of Mahmood Adil Shah; foreign enlistment was not continued, and the Moghul armies now absorbed all adventurers of that nation, as well as Affghans and Persians. The Abyssinian element, too, does not appear to have been periodically increased, as was the former custom; and what existed of that party was probably formed by the descendants of the ancient stock. By both, in process of time, the Deccany element had been largely augmented, and was now incomparably the strongest; and Deccanies and Abyssinians had their representatives alike at Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, the Abyssinian, headed by Mullik Umber, being most likely stronger at the latter than the former city. In both localities, however, was now added a third party, which had been for some time in existence. It had as yet acquired neither military rank nor political power, but was now fast rising to both, and was in the sequel destined to overshadow all.

After the subversion of the Jadow, Yadow, or Yadava dynasty of Deogurh by Sultan Alla-oo-Deen Khiljy, in 1294, the feudatories of that Mahratta kingdom retired for the most part to the country west of Deogurh, and settling among the hardy mountaineers who inhabited the broad valleys which descend eastwards from the

ghauts into the Deccan, were for a long time unsubdued by the Bahmuny kings. The perseverance of the early Mahomedans in establishing their conquests is, however, a remarkable feature of their polity; and it may be remembered that, in 1485, Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, who was the first king of the Nizam Shahy dynasty, was actually employed in a long campaign against these Mahratta chiefs when he heard of his father's death, and revolted. In fact, the Bahmuny dynasty had then to do with these semi-independent and always restless and predatory chieftains, what has often devolved upon the British Government after similar conquests. During this campaign, and afterwards, Ahmed Nizam Shah Bheiry, of whose dominions the estates of the Mahrattas formed a material portion, no doubt contracted friendships with many of them; and the heads of families gradually entered his military service, and continued to serve in his State, increasing their position through every succeeding reign. Like Ahmednugger, though not in so great a degree, Beejapoor had its hereditary Mahratta nobility; but up to the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I. they do not appear to have entered the royal service. On his accession to the throne in 1535, and in order to check the power of the local party of foreigners, the soldiery of the Deccan proper were admitted into the royal army; and, with some of their hereditary leaders, continued to serve in it. But in the Nizam Shahy State the Mahrattas were more consistently employed, and rose to higher rank than in Beejapoor. It is by no means intended to trace Mahratta history in this memoir, but it is at the same time necessary to explain who the parties were that at this period rose into notice both in Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, and contributed so largely to the destruction of both kingdoms.

During the reign of the Emperor Jehangeer, the successor of Akbar, up to the accession of Shah Jehan in 1628, a period of twenty-three years, the condition of the Beejapoor kingdom remained stationary, and for the most part undisturbed; but after Shah Jehan's accession, and that of Mahmood Adil Shah, which preceded it by two years, the Moghul armies were again put in motion for the Deccan. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Affghan, had been governor of the Deccan provinces during most part of Jehangeer's reign, and it was reported to Shah Jehan that the Imperial interests were being ill served in this now important frontier province; Lodi was therefore transferred to Malwa, and afterwards invited to court. There is little doubt that his imprisonment and destruction were purposed by the Emperor; and his escape from the capital, at the head of a small body of his own adherents, forms one of the most romantic episodes of Shah Jehan's reign. Khan Jehan Lodi pursued his way southwards, and first took refuge in the territories of Moortuza Nizam Shah, who, as has been related, was now governing his kingdom himself; and the Emperor, on learning of this, not only demanded that the fugitive should be given up, but proceeded in person to the Deccan to enforce what was stoutly refused. The principal protector of Khan Jehan Lodi had been Shahjee Bhôslay, one of the most powerful Mahratta chieftains then in the service of Ahmednugger, and by him some of the Imperial troops sent in pursuit of Lodi had been defeated. Shahjee, however, finding himself too weak to oppose the Emperor in person, thought it prudent to make terms with him; and repairing to the Imperial camp was received honourably, and admitted, with 6000 horse, into the Imperial service. Other chiefs at the same time followed his example; and Khan Jehan fled to Beejapoor, where he endeavoured to excite Mahmood Adil Shah to coalesce with Moortuza Nizam Shah, and make a strenuous effort, not only to oppose the Moghul advance, but to recover those portions of the Ahmednugger kingdom of which the Moghuls had before taken possession.

It was very possible, had Mahmood Adil Shah and Moortuza Nizam Shah possessed sufficient energy and determination to make this effort, that some material success might have attended it, and in Khan Jehan Lodi they would have secured the services of a general, personally very brave, and fertile in resources; but Mahmood Adil Shah had no confidence in Moortuza Nizam Shah, nor in the factious troops then nominally attached to him. Alone, he could not have met the great Imperial armies in the field, and any offensive movement at this juncture would have brought upon him the destruction which it was plainly to be seen awaited the remnant of the Ahmednugger kingdom. Khan Jehan Lodi's plans, therefore, met with no encouragement, and he left Beejapoor and repaired to Dowlatabad. He found Moortuza Nizam Shah II. already weakened by the defection of his Mahratta officers, vainly endeavouring to stem the tide of Moghul invasion; his army had suffered a bloody defeat under the walls of Dowlatabad, and a Moghul detachment had already passed on southwards, and occupied the strong fort of Dharoor. Khan Jehan, therefore, again fled northwards, purposing to reach his own country; but he was intercepted, and once more turning eastwards and traversing Malwa, was slain in Bundelkund after a gallant resistance.

Mahmood Adil Shah, now seriously alarmed at the almost unchecked progress of the Moghuls, entered into a treaty with Moortuza Nizam Shah for mutual defence, and sent an army to his assistance. It was, however, too late; Moortuza Nizam Shah had put himself, as has been already stated, into the hands of Futih Khan, the son of Mullik Umber, by whom he was shortly afterwards strangled, and his death involved the annihilation of the kingdom. Futih Khan had made his own terms with the Imperialists, and for the first time Beejapoor was not only alone in opposition to them, but had to meet the Imperial army in the field. Meanwhile, Shahjee Bhôslay had set up a successor to the Nizam Shahy kingdom, and in defiance of his engagements with the Emperor, had commenced independent operations, and attained a power by no means locally despicable. The Emperor's son, Shuja, who was nominally viceroy in the Deccan, had been unsuccessful in reducing Purendah and other forts, which were held in the interest of the Nizam Shahy kingdom by Beejapoor troops; and Shah Jehan supposed, not without good grounds, that the Beejapoor king and Shahjee had not only a common interest, but that Shahjee had been instigated to his present course by Beejapoor. The Emperor therefore sent an ambassador to Beejapoor to demand the evacuation of the Nizam Shahy forts, and the discountenance of Shahjee. He offered also cession of Sholapoor and the northern Konkan which had belonged to Ahmednugger, and as the only alternative, immediate declaration of war. Mahmood Adil Shah, however, refused these overtures, and his kingdom was invaded by half the Emperor's army, the other half being sent to reduce Shahjee. The Imperial campaign was prosecuted with great vigour and intelligent generalship. Shahjee was driven from all his strong positions, and forced to take refuge in the western ghauts, his districts, as conquered, being successively occupied by the Moghul troops. Gradually, too, the separate Imperial forces, after reducing Nuldroog and other strong forts to the northwards, closed towards Beejapoor. The Beejapoor troops in the field made several efforts to oppose Khan Dowran, the Imperialist general, but were as often defeated; and no resource was left but to defend the capital itself. It is questionable whether the city was ever formally invested by Khan Dowran, for Mahmood Adil Shah, foreseeing the danger, had deliberately laid waste the whole of the country for twenty miles around. The inhabitants of the villages either took refuge in the city, or removed to a distance with their property; and as there had been a great scarcity of rain, there was no grass or forage left, all that was available having been removed to the fort. The Beejapoor light troops harassed the flanks of the Imperialists, and cut off their supplies: and finally, Khan Dowran, seeing that no impression could be made on the city, betook himself to the districts, which he began to ravage with terrible effect.

Mahmood Adil Shah, at all times a merciful and compassionate character, was deeply grieved by the sufferings of his people, and in his turn proposed peace, which was in most respects favourable to him. He was confirmed in the frontier districts of Nuldroog, Kulliani, and Beeder; and the districts lying between the Neera and Bheema rivers, as well as the whole of the Konkan as far north as the Bassein river, which had belonged to Ahmednugger, were given to him. But, on the other hand, he was to pay an annual tribute of twenty lacs of pagodas, about 700,000*l.* per year, to the Emperor; and should Shahjee not deliver up the forts still in his possession, and submit himself to the Emperor's pardon, he was to be declared the enemy of both powers. Shahjee did not immediately yield, and was followed by the Imperialist general; but finding he could do nothing alone for the restoration of the Ahmednugger kingdom, he submitted, was pardoned, and desired to enter the service of Beejapoor; and the young prince whose cause he had espoused was given up, and confined thenceforward in the fort of Gwalior.

The Beejapoor kingdom now enjoyed profound internal peace. It was unmolested by the Moghuls, and Shah Jehan had returned to Dehli. Mahmood Adil Shah, thus undisturbed, had leisure to complete his own noble mausoleum, to construct an aqueduct, and to build the elegant seven-storied palace as a residence for his beautiful mistress, Rhumba. He was neither ambitious nor afflicted with that political restlessness which had been characteristic of so many of his predecessors; and he materially reformed the revenue administration of his provinces, taking example from the proceedings of Mullik Umber and the Moghuls, who were introducing, into their Deccan acquisitions, the system of Todar Mul, upon which the Imperial kingdom was now governed. In 1641, Mahmood Adil Shah married the daughter of the King of Golcondah; and while both powers prosecuted gradual independent conquests to the southwards, their operations gave no offence to the Emperor, and were not questioned.

One of the officers employed by the Beejapoor king in the Carnatic was Shahjee, the Mahratta, who

had attained considerable distinction. He still possessed his hereditary estate near Poona, and during his absence on military service, his wife, Jeejee Bye, an able and ambitious woman, who had succeeded in detaching him from the Imperial service, and always urged him to independent action for the establishment of a Hindoo kingdom—was left in charge of it and of her son, the afterwards celebrated Sivajee. This boy had from his infancy drunk in all his mother's legendary stories, had been the confidant of all her visions and dreams, and being himself of an extraordinarily imaginative and daring character, soon began to associate with others like himself who were willing to share his fortunes in *taking* advantage of the Mahomedan dissensions. In the wild Mawul valleys of the eastern side of the ghauts, there lived a rough, hardy population, freebooters by practice and almost by nature—men who, in their fastnesses, had successfully defied all Mahomedan attempts at their subjection. Among these the lad Sivajee speedily acquired influence, and was encouraged by his mother in everything he did. He met his associates at fairs and markets, and at recitations of sacred plays held in the forests, where the former glories of Hinduism were contrasted with the domination of impure outcasts; and as he grew up, these meetings not only became more frequent, but were more numerously attended, and assumed a political significance which could not be doubted.

Captain Grant Duff, in his interesting "History of the Mahrattas," has told the story of Sivajee Rajah so completely, vividly, and truthfully, that any repetition of it in this memoir would be out of place; suffice it to say that his proceedings became so questionable that they were at length noticed by the Government of Beejapoor. Under cover, however, of the well-known loyalty of his father, and encouraged by his mother, Sivajee occupied fort after fort, pretending to do so in the king's name and interests: and suspicion against him being lulled, he gradually obtained possession of considerable territory; but having intercepted some treasure belonging to Government, and committed other offences, he was at last denounced as a rebel, and his father, Shahjee, being sent for to Beejapoor, was confined. Shahjee protested his innocence, but was not believed; finally he was placed in a stone dungeon, the door of which was partially built up, and was told it would be closed for ever if his son's submission did not ensue. Sivajee was not terrified by the threat. His father he knew belonged to Shah Jehan, and not to Mahmood Adil Shah; and in the emergency he applied direct to the Emperor, who, struck by the young man's spirit, offered him the rank of a commander of 5000 horse, and assured him of his father's safety. Shahjee was not, however, finally released before the expiration of four years. No sooner was this effected than Sivajee almost threw off the mask he had worn so loosely. He and his mother vainly tried to incite Shahjee to open revolt; but failing in this, Sivajee pursued his former plan with increased audacity—unchecked by the King of Beejapoor, whose army was for the most part engaged in Carnatic wars.

In 1650, the Prince Aurungzeeb returned to his Government in the Deccan, and established himself at Aurungabad, the Kirkee of Mullik Umber, which was named after him; and on the lapse of an interval which probably presented no event of which he could take advantage, he suddenly, in 1655, interfered in the affairs of Golcondah, then disturbed by a disagreement between the minister and his sovereign, Abdoola Kootub Shah; and the minister, Meer Joomleh, having claimed the Imperial protection, which was granted by Shah Jehan, fresh complications ensued, demands were made and rejected, and the Prince Aurungzeeb was directed to enforce them. He marched from Aurungabad with the ostensible purpose of proceeding by the coast to Bengal; but suddenly altering his route, attacked Golcondah and Hyderabad, plundered the latter place, and reduced the king to such extremity that he was obliged to submit to humiliating terms of peace. This event had a direct influence on the fortunes of Beejapoor; for while Aurungzeeb was at Golcondah, news arrived of the death of Mahmood Adil Shah, who, after a long illness, expired on the 4th of November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son Ali.

ALI ADIL SHAH II.

THERE had been now twenty years of peace with the Moghuls—1636 to 1656. Beejapoor had paid the stipulated tribute with great regularity; all frontier collisions had been carefully prevented; and no cause of offence had apparently occurred on either side so long as Mahmood Adil Shah lived; but an opportunity like the present was too precious to the ambitious and unscrupulous Aurungzeeb to be passed by. Mahmood Adil Shah was succeeded by his son Ali, then in his nineteenth year; and it was pretended by the Moghuls that he was altogether spurious, that the late king had had no male offspring, that the insolence of the Beejapoor authorities in supporting the pretensions of such a person was not to be endured, and that Beejapoor had, in point of fact, lapsed to the Empire. The more probable cause of action was, that Aurungzeeb had made a private treaty with Meer Joomleh, the minister of Golcondah, for a partition of the Beejapoor kingdom; for this minister took the nominal command of the expedition against Beejapoor, which left Golcondah in March, 1657. At Beeder, which was first attacked, the great college built and founded by Mahomed Gawan had been used as a powder magazine; and on the first day of the investment it blew up with a terrible explosion, after which the garrison of the fortress submitted. Beeder had never yet been taken, and if faithfully defended was impregnable; it is not surprising, therefore, that Aurungzeeb considered its capture of so much importance as to write an autograph letter to Sivajee in these terms: "The fort of Beeder, which is considered impregnable, and which is the key "to the conquest of the Deccan and the Carnatic, has been captured in one day, both fort and town, which "was scarcely to be expected without a year's fighting;" and the tone and purport of this letter give a clue to the events which followed. The forts of Kulliani and Goolburgah, both on the road from Beeder to Beejapoor, fell in succession, and as yet the Imperial forces had received no check. Had there been no domestic treachery then at work in Beejapoor, the army which took the field under the minister, Khan Mahomed, might have done good service; but he was soon corrupted, and retreated, and the Mahratta cavalry, under leaders to this day represented by Deccan families, though they were faithful, could do little more than harass the advance. Finally, the capital was reached, and its siege followed. Within was faction and treachery, with a young king whose authority was hardly established: without, a relentless enemy who pressed the siege with all his accustomed energy. Protracted defence was almost impossible, and succour hopeless. Under this misfortune, the young king humbly besought terms; but those offered were so harsh and humiliating that even adverse factions for the time forgot mutual animosities, and rallied round their young sovereign with real devotion; and thenceforward the fort was well defended, the besieged making many vigorous sallies, and meeting the Moghul cavalry bravely in the plain without the walls. At this critical juncture an express from his sister, Rôshenara Begum, reached Aurungzeeb, informing him of the dangerous illness of their father, Shah Jehan, and imploring his speedy return to Dehli. A hasty peace was therefore concluded on comparatively easy terms, the siege was raised, and Aurungzeeb left Beejapoor for the present uninjured. How Aurungzeeb left the Deccan under charge of his second son, Sooltan Munzum—proceeded to Dehli—defeated, and afterwards murdered, his brother Dara—imprisoned his other brother, Morad Buksh—dethroned his father Shah Jehan, and became himself Emperor,—belongs to the general political history of India, and need not be repeated here; but he had left elements of further discord and misfortune in the Beejapoor kingdom, which materially hastened the final event.

Like his father Shahjee, Sivajee was not faithful to Aurungzeeb. His professions to the prince, now Emperor, were but a cloak to his own designs of personal independence. His conquests from Beejapoor had been tacitly permitted, if not encouraged, by Aurungzeeb, who used them to distress that kingdom; but no sooner was he engaged in the struggle with his brothers for the throne, than Sivajee at once turned on the Moghul garrisons in his neighbourhood, writing at the same time that he was acting solely in the Imperial interests in rescuing the country from local mismanagement, and offering to take possession of the Konkan and other provinces under Beejapoor, and hold them for the Emperor. It is hardly possible to conceive that Aurungzeeb should not have detected this flimsy artifice; but for the present no action could be taken against Sivajee,

and at least, the distraction of Beejapoor would be accomplished. There, little could be done in the condition in which local parties then were, and Sivajee's lawless career remained unchecked. The minister, Khan Mahomed, was invited to return to the capital under promises, on his part, of future good faith; but as he entered the Allapoor gate of the city, he was dragged from his elephant and murdered, as is alleged by some accounts, under orders from the king, others stating the act to have been one of private revenge. Almost immediately after this event, an army, which had been prepared for the purpose, left Beejapoor under the command of Afzul Khan, a brave, but incautious soldier, who, in a public audience, had volunteered to lead it and to bring Sivajee bound to the presence; and with this force Afzul Khan proceeded, in September, 1757, to attack the rebel in his stronghold of Pertâbgurh, one of the hill fortresses situated in the wildest part of the western ghauts. Having arrived near his destination, Afzul Khan was met by ambassadors, who, on Sivajee's part, professed his entire loyalty and devotion: and Afzul Khan was invited to a meeting on the hill side of Pertâbgurh, where the matter in dispute could be amicably discussed. Sivajee had already determined, if the suspicions of Afzul Khan could be removed, to decoy him and his army into the mountain defiles, and after killing him with his own hands, to fall upon the Beejapoor troops with the whole of his force; and to this end preparations were made beforehand. Afzul Khan went to the interview attended, as had been already arranged, with but a single armed follower, and was met by Sivajee, who, for his own companion, had taken with him his most trusted friend, Tannajee Maloosray. As Afzul Khan and Sivajee embraced each other, Sivajee struck him in the bowels with a concealed dagger in the form of a tiger's claw, which his hand had covered; and the unfortunate nobleman fell and was dispatched by Maloosray before he could rise. The event was made known to the troops by which the Beejapoor force had been surrounded, and which were concealed in the thick jungle of the valley, by three cannon shots fired in succession from Pertâbgurh; and taken entirely by surprise, the Mahomedans were slaughtered almost without resistance. This success, treacherous and cruel as were the murder and ambuscade, excited Sivajee's followers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; nor to this day is there any incident among the numberless romantic adventures and deeds of their national hero, which, either in the form of recitation or ballad, is more eagerly listened to with unabated interest by the Mahratta peasantry, than the destruction of Afzul Khan and his army. The reader will recall to memory an almost identical event which occurred in the year 1453, when Mullik-ool-Toojar, the Bahmuny general, was decoyed into an ambuscade among the wilds of the Konkan by Sirkay, a Mahratta chieftain, and destroyed with the greater part of his army.

The death of Afzul Khan, and the loss of his troops and equipment, occasioned much consternation at Beejapoor; and Sivajee, following up his success, overran many of the western districts of the kingdom, plundered them to the very gates of the capital, and retreated into his fortresses with immense booty; but the resources of the State were not yet seriously impaired, and a campaign followed in which Fazil Khan, the son of Afzul Khan, particularly distinguished himself. Sivajee was unable to meet the royal forces in the field, and the king himself following them, many suspected persons made submission to him, and affairs were so far retrieved in that quarter that he was able to proceed to the Carnatic, and conduct in person the campaign against the Hindoo states. Temporary reverses, however, had little effect upon Sivajee, whose career and character had so deeply excited the imagination of the Mahratta people. Burning, as they were, to be freed from the Mahomedan domination, which had endured for centuries, they recognized in their national hero an incarnation of the divine energy by which he professed himself impelled to action; and his mode of predatory warfare was one which was exactly suited to the habits of a rude and lawless people. While Ali Adil Shah was engaged in the Carnatic wars Sivajee had ample opportunity for consolidating his own acquisitions; and on the king's return to Beejapoor, in 1662, his local strength was so great that it was deemed most advisable to enter into a treaty with him in the name of the minister, Abdool Mahommed, by which Sivajee was secured in his possessions, the nominal sovereignty being retained by the king. By this arrangement Sivajee now possessed the Konkan seaboard for a length of 250 miles, with the districts above the ghauts for a length of 160 miles, the greatest breadth being about 100 miles; and he had an army of 50,000 foot and 7000 horse. This treaty was negotiated by Sivajee's father Shahjee, who, in the employment of Beejapoor, had carried its arms to the southward with great bravery and success; and, having possessed himself of Tanjore, had been confirmed in it, as a semi-independent principality, much on the same terms as his son Sivajee had extorted for himself.

To the proceedings of Sivajee, his constant aggressions and victims, his ultimate assumption of regal titles, and the act of coining money in his own name, it was impossible the Emperor Aurungzeeb could be indifferent. His own authority in the Deccan seemed to be crumbling away under the pertinacious assaults of a power with which his local generals could not grapple; which appeared suddenly at unexpected points, wasted the country, and again disappeared before it could be pursued. His best generals were defeated, outwitted, and humbled; so in 1665 the celebrated Rajah Jey Singh was sent with an army to the Deccan, not only to subdue Sivajee, but Beejapoor also, the heavy arrears of the tribute of which kingdom afforded pretext for war. Had the Emperor trusted Jey Singh with a force sufficient for the purpose, it is most probable that the conquest of Beejapoor would have been then effected; but while he employed him as the most capable and faithful general he possessed, the Emperor was not free from those suspicions which at all times had exercised so baneful an influence on his conduct. Probably Jey Singh did as much as was possible under the circumstances. He attacked Sivajee with spirit, and eventually brought him to submission. Jey Singh was too astute a Hindoo to be deceived, as the more unsuspicious Mahomedan generals had been, by mere professions and idle messages; and while he received all that Sivajee chose to send, his own proceedings were pressed with such ardour, that for once Sivajee felt himself beaten by his own weapons. It was probably, however, part of the policy of Jey Singh not to drive his adversary to too great straits, and to preserve him, not only as a check against Beejapoor, but as an instrument of aid for its suppression. While he was engaged against Beejapoor it would be manifestly impossible to leave Sivajee in his rear; for he knew, if he did, that all treaties would be thrown to the winds, and that the Mahratta, to serve his own ends, would coalesce with Beejapoor, and render any operation against it impossible. Accordingly, when the arrangement made upon Sivajee's submission was ratified by the Emperor, the combined movement on Beejapoor being a special stipulation, the confederates marched from Poorundhur towards Beejapoor, Sivajee's contingent force amounting to 2000 good cavalry and 8000 foot.

At first, and following the usual Deccan style of negotiation, Ali Adil Shah and his ministers tried to stave off the danger by professions and promises of arrears of tribute; but Jey Singh was no more to be deterred from his purpose by Beejapoor than he had been by Sivajee, and continued his advance. This seems to have once more aroused the old chivalrous spirit in Beejapoor, and all parties, Mahrattas and Mahomedans alike, united to oppose the invaders, with such success that only a very partial investment of the capital took place. Its environs, as before, were deserted, no supplies were to be obtained, and the Beejapoor horse, which kept the field, maintained a perpetual irregular, but harassing warfare. Finding that his army was daily becoming weaker, and having no hope of reinforcements, Jey Singh reluctantly raised the siege he had attempted, and retreated upon Aurungabad, suffering heavily on the way from the Beejapoor cavalry; and thus ended this abortive campaign.

Although Sivajee's troops behaved well on many occasions, and he himself evinced considerable bravery, yet it is questionable whether he entered with any good will into this attack on Beejapoor, for he separated himself from Jey Singh as soon as possible. His contingent was a much smaller one than he could have employed; and while he occupied only a subordinate position, and might well be doubtful of the Emperor, he still hoped much from Beejapoor. Aurungzeeb, however, professed himself satisfied; and wrote him a very complimentary invitation to Dehli, which Sivajee, not without great misgiving, accepted. At his first audience, however, he was coldly, if not insultingly, received by Aurungzeeb, and placed under such strict surveillance, that, fearing for his life, which no doubt was in great danger, he escaped from his residence in Dehli by night,* by a strange stratagem, carried his son, Sumbhajee, behind him on horseback to Muttra, and thence, in the disguise of a religious mendicant, and attended by only a few devoted followers, he reached the Deccan by untravelled paths and forests, through which his progress could not be traced. His misfortunes were soon retrieved, and Rajah Jey Singh being recalled, Sivajee received, through the influence of the Prince Mauzum, who was now appointed viceroy, not only confirmation of his previous acquisitions, but of his assumed titles also; and, after a very brief interval of preparation, he recommenced his predatory movements in all directions with greater audacity and greater success than ever.

In 1665, probably to avoid danger of an invasion, Ali Adil Shah sent an ambassador to the Emperor, to negotiate the settlement of the arrears of tribute, which were now enormous. Whether actual payments were

* Vide Grant Duff's Hist. vol. i. pp. 212—216, where the particulars of this memorable escape are graphically related.

made is doubtful; and it is not unlikely that a composition was effected, by which the fort of Sholapoor, and the northern districts, yielding 180,000 pagodas per year (63,000*l.*), were ceded to the Moghuls. It appears that by this arrangement the Bheema now became the northern boundary of the Beejapoor kingdom, as Aurungzeeb's conquests of Beeder, Kulliani, and Goolburgah, never seem to have been disturbed. In this year also, when Sivajee was preparing to levy his annual arrogant demand for Chout and Sur-Deish-Mookhee, which he had spread all over the Deccan, and made the pretext for most of his predatory expeditions, the minister of Beejapoor agreed privately to pay him annually three lacs of rupees (30,000*l.*) for exemption. This was the origin of the never-failing demand on the Mahomedan districts, in after times, by the Peshwahs, and was levied with as unvarying exactness from the Moghuls, as from Beejapoor.

Ali Adil Shah II. died of paralysis, on the 15th of December, 1672, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. He had one son, Sikunder, who, being then in his fifth year, was placed on the throne; and as had been agreed upon during his last illness, Khowas Khan, the son of Khan Mahomed, whose treachery and subsequent murder will be remembered, was nominated regent; the real minister, Abdool Muhummud, preferring to act in a subordinate capacity.

SIKUNDER ADIL SHAH.

SIVAJEE had been much restrained by his personal friendship with Abdool Muhummud, and possibly by his respect for the deceased king, from further aggressions upon Beejapoor; but he now threw off all mask, and invaded the territory at several points, carrying away vast amounts of plunder. Khowas Khan in vain tried to stay the fast-progressing devastation of the people and conquest of the royal dominions. His general at first obtained some advantages, but was eventually beaten in the field, and obliged to retire into Beejapoor, and the contest was not renewed. On the 6th of June, 1674, Sivajee was formally crowned Rajah and Maha Rajah, and had become in all respects an independent sovereign. As such, the English Factory at Bombay made treaties with him, and by the Moghuls he was undisturbed. In turn he did not molest them, and it is not improbable they purchased his forbearance at the expense of Beejapoor; nor indeed, weakened himself by the war in Affghanistan, was it possible for the Emperor to reinforce the Deccan army, which could barely hold its ground. Aurungzeeb was content, perhaps, to watch the progress of events; and to leave Sivajee to weaken Beejapoor and Golcondah, against the time when he himself should be able to strike in and overwhelm all.

Treachery and treason seem to have been hereditary in the family of Khowas Khan. His father had nearly succeeded in delivering the capital and the kingdom to Aurungzeeb on his first invasion in 1657; and in 1675, he himself, finding it next to impossible to maintain his position as regent, entered into a secret negotiation with the Moghul viceroy, Khan Jehan, to deliver up Beejapoor, and to give the young king's sister, who is reported to have been very beautiful, in marriage to one of the Emperor's sons. The treasonable project of his father as related to the State, had been similar in all respects, and the result in each case was precisely the same. When the treason was detected, it was publicly made known, and, according to local tradition, a vast popular outcry arose for Khowas Khan's execution. The people were fond of their young king, and the princess especially was an object of affectionate regard; they would be satisfied with nothing short of the regent's blood, and he was therefore forthwith put to death. As had been agreed upon between them, Khan Jehan had advanced from Aurungabad to meet Khowas Khan; but the Beejapoor troops had been dispatched in good time, they were well led and full of ardour, and almost for the last time the chivalry of the kingdom rallied together to meet a common danger. Khan Jehan's army was overthrown, and, in the language of the country, "he was hunted back with derision" into his own provinces. Abdool Kurreem, to whose vigilance the timely discovery of the treason was owing, was now elected regent, and was essentially faithful to the State interests; but a Moghul faction had arisen at the capital, under the protection of the Emperor's ambassador, which had many adherents, and fermented many intrigues, and the task of governing the State, or of preserving it at all, was daily becoming more difficult.

In this year (1676) Sivajee commenced his celebrated expedition into the south of India, with the ostensible purpose of securing his father's estate of Tanjore, but with the real one of plunder and conquest. He avoided Beejapoor, and marched on Golcondah, where he made a treaty with Kootub Shah, the object of which was to divide between them the southern portion of the Beejapoor dominions. This expedition affords a clue to the extent to which the Beejapoor conquests had extended in the time of Ali Adil Shah II. Sivajee found Beejapoor troops in Ginjee and Vellore, which surrendered to him; and leaving Tanjore in possession of his half brother, Venkajee, who had always resided there, he pursued his career of spoliation unchecked by the Beejapoor troops, which, indeed, from long arrears, and the contest of factions at the capital, could not now be put in motion. In 1678, the resources of the State were too limited to pay the army; and during Abdool Kurreem's protracted illness, an Abyssinian nobleman of great wealth, purchased—as may be said—the office of regent minister, on condition of paying up the troops. This, however, he only partially fulfilled; and great numbers of the hereditary cavalry, in which the strength of the kingdom had always consisted, were turned adrift, some joining the Moghuls, and others entering the service of the Rajah Sivajee. The Emperor, on hearing of this event, censured his viceroy for not having taken the Beejapoor government and the affairs of its minor sovereign under the Imperial protection, and provided for the troops by paying their arrears. This advice, however, came too late, and it is very probable that such an alternative would have been rejected at Beejapoor; for the people were still violently opposed to the Moghuls. When the Imperial envoy again demanded the hand of the Princess Padshah Beebee, it was refused by Musaood Khan, but a faction in the Moghul interest attempted to enforce it, and a severe battle within the walls was only prevented by the princess herself, who, vainly imagining that she could save the State by her consent to an alliance to which she was personally averse, repaired to the spot where the hostile parties were drawn up, and declared her intention of proceeding to the camp of the Imperial general Dilere Khan, then on his march to Beejapoor; a resolution which she almost immediately afterwards put in execution. This sacrifice, however, was of no avail. She was honourably received and sent on to Aurungabad, and Dilere Khan pursued his march, and laid siege to Beejapoor: but was unable to make any immediate impression upon it. The siege was commenced about the end of 1679.

Musaood Khan, however, apprehensive of being compelled to surrender, now applied to Sivajee, who so far assisted him, that, without attacking the Moghul army, he struck in between it and Aurungabad, ravaging the Moghul districts with merciless barbarity up to the very environs of that city, the actual Viceroy Sooltan Mauzum, being without any means of resisting him. Dilere Khan, however, had persevered in his siege of Beejapoor, and Musaood Khan wrote to Sivajee imploring aid, for the Moghul general had pushed his approaches up to the very walls, and only timely aid could save the city; Sivajee therefore again hurried southwards; but was met by the unexpected news that his son, Sumbhajee, had revolted, joined Dilere Khan, and was in open rebellion. He then halted; but dispatched a force to relieve Beejapoor, which operated so effectually against the Moghul besiegers that Dilere Khan was obliged to raise the siege and retreat. The conduct of Musaood Khan in this emergency is deserving of all praise; and his memory is still preserved at Beejapoor with much veneration. One memorial of him exists at Adoni, where he afterwards lived and died—a very elegant and richly decorated mosque illustrated in this volume, which is a fine specimen of the florid architecture of the period. Shortly after the siege was raised, Sivajee himself arrived at Beejapoor, and, as the price of his assistance, exacted hard terms from the regent, which he was in no condition to refuse. By these, the Rachore Dooab, probably the most prized of all the Beejapoor provinces, was ceded to him. This was almost the last act and acquisition of his life, for he died on the 5th of April, 1680, at Raigurh, his capital, in the 53rd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Sumbhajee.

Soon after Sivajee's death, the regent Musaood Khan, now blamed for the cession he had made to him, was obliged to resign his office and return to his estate at Adoni; and there is nothing on record to prove who was his successor. Some attempt was made to recover the districts ceded by Musaood Khan, which, so far from succeeding, only excited the revengeful feelings of Sumbhajee, and was never forgiven. It is not improbable that he would have attacked Beejapoor; but the Emperor was now on his way to the Deccan with an immense army, and the rest of his vast dominions being at peace, he was prepared to play out the last act of Deccan sovereignty in person. His purpose appears to have been first to annex Beejapoor and Golcondah,

and afterwards to turn his whole force upon Sumbhajee, who, even exceeding his father in merciless predatory expeditions, was ravaging the country in all directions, almost without check.

The Emperor divided his vast army into three portions. One under Sooltan Mauzum was sent southwards to re-occupy districts which had been taken by Sivajee, and soon recovered most of the southern Mahratta provinces. Another under Khan Jehan was sent against Golcondah, and was met at Mulkhair by the army of that State, which was much superior in force; but reinforcements under Sooltan Mauzum having arrived, and the Golcondah general retreating, not without strong suspicion of treachery, the Imperial commander followed him without delay. The open city of Hyderabad was plundered and occupied by the Moghuls, and the king, Abou Hussein, having retreated to the fort of Golcondah, was reduced to such straits that a peace was only purchased by payment of 2,000,000*l.* sterling in gold.

Meanwhile, Beejapoor had been attacked by the southern army; and the Emperor, who had moved from Aurungabad to Sholapoor, now crossed the Bheema with his whole force, and proceeded to the scene of action. He found the place already partially invested by the army under his son Sooltan Azim, and his own completed what was wanting: several breaching batteries were erected, but that on the south-west angle of the fort, where there is no ditch (vide Plan), was the most effective. It was situated on high ground, and the site was selected with much judgment and engineering skill. A practicable breach was made in a few days; but the Emperor, who was aware that another citadel of much greater strength than the outer fortification existed within the enceinte, delayed to storm the place, which he knew would be defended with obstinate valour. He learned, also, that the garrison was short of provisions, and their final surrender was only a question of time; and so contented himself with preventing, by a constant fire, any repair of the breach, which, indeed, does not appear to have been ever attempted. The Emperor's anticipations proved to be well founded. On or about the 15th of October, 1686, the garrison of the citadel, reduced to the last extremity, surrendered; and the Emperor, being carried in his state palankeen through the breach, accompanied by his principal generals and officers, and thence moving through crowds of people weeping passionately—received the submission of the existing nobles of the kingdom, in the great hall of audience in the citadel. There was no plunder of the capital; the resignation of the people to an inevitable fate seems to have averted this usual act of humiliation, and it is said still, that the Emperor himself, profoundly affected by what he saw, wept over his conquest.

From this day forth the Adil Shahy dynasty ceased to exist. The young Prince Sikunder was, as the tale is told, taken to the Emperor, and having presented his sword as an offering, Aurungzeeb placed his hands on the boy's head and assured him of protection. He was not removed from Beejapoor, but continued under strict surveillance, and died suddenly at the end of three years. A local tradition exists that a movement in his favour having arisen, he was put to death by the Emperor's orders, which, under the circumstances, is perhaps not improbable. Sikunder Adil Shah was the last of his race: and with him perished every trace of a family which had existed in splendour and plenitude of power, for one hundred and ninety-seven years. Henceforth, Beejapoor became a mere provincial city of the Moghul empire, and gradually fell into decay. It was supposed that the Emperor would have made it his capital; but he appeared ever afterwards to avoid the place, residing at Aurungabad when not engaged in the field.

The religious tolerance of the kings of the Adil Shahy dynasty in regard to different sects of Mahomedanism has been already adverted to in describing the changes of professions of State faith; and it is equally interesting to observe that the same tolerance appears to have been extended to Christian missions from Goa. It is evident, from the churches which still remain in the Deccan, that the movements of the Jesuit friars, and their communication with the people, were not restricted; and that in some instances large communities became their converts, which still remain firm in their faith. One Mission church is at Aurungabad; another, the members of which are distillers and weavers, at Cheetapoor, on the Bheema, about twenty miles south-east from Kulboorgah; a third at Rachore, which consists of potters; a fourth at Moodgul, the largest, containing upwards of 300 members, who are shepherds and weavers; a fifth at a village between Rachore and Moodgul, who are farmers. In all these localities there are small churches furnished with translations, in excellent Canarese, of the Breviary and of homilies and lectures, which, in absence of the priest, are read by lay-deacons or monks, duly accredited. They have also schools attached to them. These churches, under the late Concordat, are now

permanently subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. All of them, however, possess firmans of endowment by Ibrahim Ali and Mahmood Adil Shahs; some of lands, others of collections of grain, manufactured cloths, &c. and percentages upon the local customs and excise, revenues which are still enjoyed under the original grants. The early Portuguese missionaries introduced the Cintra orange and the black and white fleshy grapes of Portugal into the Deccan, where they still flourish.

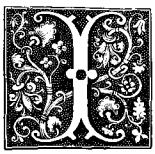
Before closing this portion of the present memoir, it may interest the general reader to follow to its close the last of the two Deccan kingdoms, whose career began simultaneously in 1489. It has not been necessary to allude to Golcondah as much as to Ahmednugger, because its interests were separated from both, and its career of conquest to the east and south did not clash with either of its neighbours; but Golcondah had been very prosperous, and rivalled, if it did not exceed them in wealth and territorial extent. In both these respects the Emperor's cupidity had been excited in the strongest degree; and the treasures obtained by Sooltan Mauzum, in 1657, had only whetted his desire for further and entire spoliation. Nor was he long in declaring his intentions. The treaty which had been executed by his son was set aside, and a declaration of war made on the ground that the king Abou Hussein was a disgraceful profligate unfit to govern, and that he had violated the precepts of the "true faith" by employing a Hindoo minister, and entering into an alliance with the "infidel Sumbhajee," the destroyer of thousands of "true believers." The unfortunate king, hoping that the Emperor's rapacity might be satisfied, stripped the women of his harem of their jewels, and gave up what remained of the State valuables; but, as might have been foreseen, to no purpose. The Emperor had dispatched a force from Beejapoor to intercept any probable reinforcements from the south, and himself moved first to Goolburgah, to return thanks for his recent victory at the shrine of the celebrated Saint Syud Geesoo Durâz, and afterwards on the capital, which he invested. Its defence was bravely protracted for seven months; and it is said, with truth perhaps, that it was only taken by treachery at last. The king, Abou Hussein, or, as he is called, Tanah Shah, was removed to Dowlatabad, where he lived "a royal minstrel" to an advanced age. The dynasty of the Kootub Shahy kings, thenceforth ceased to exist; but many noble memorials of it still survive, and if they are not so splendid as those of Beejapoor, they are at least more useful. The mausoleums of the kings, which are situated in the plain to the north of the fort, are still in excellent preservation, and if not so vast as that of Mahmood Adil Shah, or so beautiful as that of Ibrahim, are, in an austere simplicity of their own, very imposing edifices—and being near each other, have a finer effect than the separated monuments of Beejapoor. It was, however, in their great irrigation projects that the Kootub Shahy kings most vied with each other, and expended their revenues to the best public advantage; and in this respect they stand alone among all the Mahomedan dynasties of the Deccan. The Hussein Sagur tank at Hyderabad, on the north bank of which the cantonment of Secundrabad is situated, is a noble work. When full, the area of water is two and three-quarter square miles, and in the centre, near the embankment, it is upwards of sixty feet deep. The earthen embankment which retains it is more than a mile long, with a perpendicular height of seventy-six feet in the centre. It is faced with huge blocks of granite in the form of steps, and the several sluices, which have open pavilions towards the water, are of admirably constructed masonry. The noble lake at Ibrahim Puttun, the work of Ibrahim Kootub Shah, in whose reign (1550 to 1560) the Hussein Sagur also was constructed, is almost of the same dimensions, though not so deep; and there are literally hundreds of others, of large size, in various parts of these dominions, not to mention smaller ones perhaps by thousands in every village of the country, which exist to this day; and by supplying local means of irrigation, add to the prosperity of the people and the revenues of the present Government. Nor were religious edifices, baths and caravanserais, colleges and schools, almshouses and hospitals omitted. The great Jumma mosque in the centre of Hyderabad, a stately edifice, in some respects finer than the Jumma mosque at Beejapoor; the Char Minar, or four minarets—a square building of four broad and very lofty open arches, with minarets 220 feet high at each corner, which is situated at the junction of the four great streets of the city; the bridge of fourteen arches over the Moosee river; the dam at Boodwal on the same river, which afforded an auxiliary supply of water to the Hussein Sagur, irrigating the country for upwards of twenty miles between the two points; and many other noble edifices, palaces, and fortifications—exist as imperishable monuments of this useful dynasty. Ferishta, after enumerating the public works executed in the reign of Mahomed Koolly Kootub Shah, records that, "according to the account of Meer "Abou Talib, the king's treasurer, it appears that twenty-eight lacs of hoons (pagodas=2,800,000*l.* sterling)

" were expended in public works during the lifetime of this king; and that sixty thousand hoons (24,000*l.*)
" were annually distributed to the poor, of which twelve thousand hoons were given during the month of
" Mohorum."

Golcondah was the great mercantile mart of Southern India during the reign of the Kootub Shahies; and a this period the diamond mines, which are situated at a village about half way between Golcondah and Masulipatam, were well worked and proved unusually productive. The residence of Tavernier, the celebrated French traveller and diamond merchant at Golcondah, will be remembered by the general reader, who is referred to his interesting and truthful descriptions for graphic pictures of the times. Neither Beejapoor nor Ahmednugger would seem ever to have been places of great mercantile importance, and in this respect they were far exceeded by their wealthy neighbour. Golcondah is situated about four miles north-west of the city of Hyderabad, with which it is connected by a series of suburbs, and the whole forms the capital of His Highness the Nizam, the present ruler of the Deccan.

Part III.

OF BEEJAPOOR AFTER THE EXTINCTION OF THE ADIL SHAHY DYNASTY.



N a political sense, Beejapoor ceased to exist after its capture by the Emperor Aurungzeeb. It is never again mentioned by historians of the period, nor in local memoirs. No event of remarkable character appears to have happened there, and thus silently and mournfully the great city passed to its decay, which was comparatively rapid. For a time, perhaps, the presence of the Emperor's sons, Mahomed Azim Shah and Kambuksh, who were successively viceroys of the province and held their courts there, and the troops stationed with them, may have maintained the capital in a limited degree of splendour; but this, too, faded out in the course of a few years, and as the station of a second or third rate governor, there could have been no local expenditure to support the population, which in almost every native capital of India, is dependent for existence upon the outlay of the court and feudatories attached to it. The Emperor himself appears to have avoided Beejapoor even as a temporary place of residence; and without resorting to any one of the three great capitals that had fallen into his hands, fixed upon a spot not far from Punderpoor, called Brumhapooree, on the Bheema, where a large cantonment was formed as a kind of central depôt from whence operations could be undertaken in any necessary direction, and which existed until his death.

The occupation and security of the conquests he had made demanded the Emperor's immediate attention. His son, Azim Shah, with Ghazee-oo-Deen, were sent to reduce Musaood Khan of Adoni, who had assumed a nominal independence over the districts in the south-east portion of the Beejapoor dominions, and did not immediately tender his allegiance. On the arrival of the Imperial army he prudently submitted, and being confirmed in a portion of his tenure, sufficient for his comfortable maintenance, took no further part in public affairs, and died at a very advanced age. He was buried in the enclosure of the beautiful mosque he had built at Adoni, and his tomb is still respected and preserved. Another of the almost innumerable feudatories of the Beejapoor kingdom was the Beydur Rajah, or Näik of Sugger, one of the chiefs of the "Bergies," to whose settlement the King Ali Adil Shah II. had addressed himself with much judgment after the battle of Talikota, and destruction of the Beejanugger kingdom. Many of these chiefs were then taken into the royal service, and settled on their old terms of hereditary local militia in their ancestral villages. Of these were the Näiks of Rutnagiri, Chittuldroog, Hurpunhully, Kanakgiri, and other places; but the Näik of Sugger had established himself in a small wild tract on the left bank of the Krishna: and having proved loyal and valiant in charge of this frontier, was increased in dignity, and placed in charge of the Sircar, or province of Sugger immediately to the east of Beejapoor, by especial grants from Ali Adil Shah, which, with several additional privileges, were confirmed by his descendants.

Among the many feudatories attached to Beejapoor, there was none more faithful to the dynasty, or who adhered to its falling fortunes with more persistence than the Beydur Näik of Sugger. While there was any chance of operating in favour of the besieged city he was an active partisan, cutting off the supplies of the Moghuls and harassing their movements; and almost immediately after its fall, the Emperor addressed himself to Pám Naik, who, after much hesitation, repaired to the Imperial presence and was received with honour.

Not only were all his former estates and privileges confirmed to him, but his rights of collections of "tenths" of the revenue of several provinces augmented, and the rank of a commander of "five thousand" in the Imperial service conferred upon him, with the insignia of the royal order of "the fish." The boorish manners of this person excited so much ridicule at court, that he took deep offence and retired precipitately to his fastnesses, where he soon afterwards died. His son inherited all his ancestral contempt for the Moghuls. Having strengthened himself very considerably in a new position in the hills near the small fort of Wagingéra, he kept up a perpetual warfare with them. He was joined by Dunnajee Jadow, one of the most persistent of Mahratta plunderers, who not only aided his operations very materially, but, under the pretence of collecting his own dues, extended his depredations to the gates of Golcondah and Ahmednugger. The Emperor in vain attempted persuasion or cajolement. Numbers of autograph letters were written to the Rajah by him, many of them having the impress of his own hand dipped in ground sandal-wood, in one of which was the remarkable sentence, "O that thou wert a Mussulman, thou wouldst be as my brother;" and not only from the Emperor, but from his son, the Prince Kambuksh, were many "kowls," or deeds of protection and immunity, offerings of pardon and the like, sent from time to time, which were carefully preserved among the records of the family. In 1705, however, the Emperor could no longer be indifferent to the growing power of this chieftain, which had materially increased during his own distant operations against Mahratta forts; and he repaired to Wagingéra in person, and laid siege to it. This fort is insignificant; but the position is strong, and access to the town was only to be had through a narrow defile, on each side of which were fortified hills. The Beydur chief and his clan, which numbered 12,000 fighting men, assisted by many of the old Deccanies and Abyssinians from Beejapoor, defended the place with obstinate valour, and the Imperial losses were very severe. Finding that he could make no impression on it, the Emperor summoned Zoolfikar Khan and Daood Khan from the Carnatic, and by their forces, united with the Emperor's, a final assault was made, and a lodgement obtained in some of the outer defences. The wild jungles east of Wagingéra afforded ample protection for the Beydur chief, to whom eventually terms were offered; and in consideration of future attachment and service, not only were his political and marauding offences forgiven, but new assignments made to him, which, according to family records, raised the revenue of this small principality to nearly eighteen lacs (180,000*l.*) a year. Wagingéra was, however, too exposed a situation; and a valley having been selected about five miles east of that place, a new capital was founded there, which was named Soorpoor, the Town of Valour, or, as it is generally written, Shorapoor. Here, through all the fluctuations which followed, the Shorapoor family maintained their position, alike with the Nizam, the Peshwah, and the British; but suffering from the exactions of the former, who claimed him as his feudatory after the Mahratta war of 1818. Although shorn of all his rights of "tenths" over the old Imperial provinces and Beejapoor, and with his territory considerably reduced, though still possessing the ancient Sircar or province of Sugger, lying between the Bheema and Krishna, the family would still have held this territory and lived in respectable affluence; but in 1857, the Rajah, whose affairs, during a long minority, had been under British supervision and management, was seduced from his allegiance by the treasonable conspiracy in the southern Mahratta territory of the Bombay Presidency; and in February, 1858, having fought a partial action with a detachment of British troops, he fled to Hyderabad, was taken, tried, and condemned to death. In hope of his eventual reformation, however, and in consideration of his youth, his sentence was commuted to a term of imprisonment; but on his way to Madras, at the first stage from Secundrabad, the young man shot himself, whether by accident or design could never be ascertained. His territory now escheated to His Highness the Nizam; and the Rajah's widows and relatives receive pensions, or are confirmed in the possessions they had enjoyed during the existence of the State. It is satisfactory also to record, that His Highness's Government has not interfered with the rent-free lands originally conferred on the members of the clan, who enjoy them under their ancient local tenure of service. The foregoing is a digression: but, as relating to the last surviving feudal chieftain of the Adil Shahy dynasty, may not be without interest in this memoir. It is much to be regretted that in the occupation of Shorapoor, which followed the Rajah's flight, the whole of the family records were destroyed without knowledge of their value. These had been carefully arranged, and contained not only all the original deeds and firmans of the Adil Shahy kings, Aurungzeeb, and his sons; but much interesting correspondence in Mahratta and Persian relating to operations in the field, diaries from Beejapoor, Golcondah, Poona, and the Emperor's camp, treaties, and memoirs relating not only to the early connection of the family with the Adil Shahy

dynasty, but with the contemporary kings of Golcondah and Beeder, the Moghuls, the Mahrattas, and Tippoo Sultan. From these invaluable records—the collection, carefully kept, of upwards of two hundred years—many curious and interesting historical facts and narratives might have been derived: and it is therefore the more to be regretted that they were so heedlessly and wantonly destroyed.

The career of the Emperor Aurungzeeb in the Deccan need not be followed minutely, nor his futile operations against the Mahrattas, who were no sooner beaten in one place than they appeared in another with renewed strength; and alike northwards, eastwards, and southwards, pressed forward in tumultuous hordes, which subsisted upon the plunder of the country. He had not reckoned upon the effect of the almost simultaneous disruption of three powerful States which, with nearly equal forces, had kept each other in check for two hundred years; nor had he considered what would become of the armies which had been maintained as a balance of power. Aurungzeeb, ever suspicious, took none, or very few, of these troops into his own service; and thus vast bodies of men who knew no trade but war, and had no means of support but what they could derive from their own swords, were thrown upon the country to shift for themselves, and to engage with such chiefs as the Näik of Shorapoor, or the Mahrattas. Many Deccanies joined the Beydur Näik, as has been related; and to the last, representatives of the proud old "Kàlé Chattrees," "Alla-ool-Moolks," "Bhylmees," "Siahposh," and the like, were among his retainers, and still exist. It was no marvel, then, that the Deccan fell rapidly into disorder, which the Emperor was totally unable to repress. He was stung to the quick by the devastation of Surat and Baroche by Sumbhajee, the son of Sivajee, and vowed deadly revenge. Not long afterwards, Sumbhajee was seized while drunk by an enterprising partisan officer of the Moghul army, and taken to the Emperor, who, with his usual bitter hypocrisy and fanaticism, offered him life if he would become a Mahomedan. "Tell the Emperor," said the fierce Mahratta, "that if he will give me his daughter to-night, "he may make a Mussulman of me in the morning." The actual words cannot be recorded, but no insult of more stinging virulence could have been devised than this bitter reply. Sumbhajee was forthwith blinded with a red-hot iron, his tongue was cut out, and he was beheaded, cursing and defying his tormentor with his last breath. These actions and sayings still live in the hearts of the Mahratta people, and are sung by bards and poets; their effect, at that time, can be imagined, and the storm of predatory warfare burst out with more pitiless fury than ever. The Mahratta hordes plundered not only the Deccan, but Malwa and Rajpootana; they pressed eastwards towards Bengal, and southwards into the Carnatic; and though internal dissensions, fomented by the Emperor, weakened them for a while, they became, when these were past, stronger than ever. The Emperor's grants of *Chouth*, or a fourth of the royal revenues, and of a tenth, or Sur Desh-mookhee—an imposed hereditary claim which had not a shadow of foundation, but which Sivajee had set up as a pretence for his own exactions; levies for Ghâs-dáná, forage and grain, and many others, set petty chiefs, farmers, and even artisans in motion; and every man who could sit a horse or carry a spear became one of the "dreaded Mahrattas," who, excited by the memory of Sivajee Rajah and the barbarous destruction of his son, by the terrible Jezeea, or poll-tax, and by the incursions of hordes of rapacious tax-gatherers, who followed the Imperial progress—banded together in a common and, for the time, intensely national cause.

"Different from the organized bands of Sivajee, but more destructive to a country,"—writes the author of the "History of the Mahrattas,"—"an irregular assembly of several thousand horsemen, united by preconcerted "agreement in some unfrequented part of the country—they set off without provision, no baggage except the "blanket on their saddles, and no animals but led horses, with bags prepared for the reception of plunder. If "they halted during part of a night, like the Pindharees of more modern times, they slept with their bridles in "their hands; if in the day, whilst the horses were fed and refreshed, the men reposed, with little shelter from "the scorching heat, except such as might be found under a bush or a tree; and during that time their swords "were laid by their sides, and their spears were at their horses' heads stuck in the ground. When halted in a "plain, groups of four or five might be seen sound asleep, their bodies exposed to a noonday sun, and their "heads in a cluster under the precarious shade of a black blanket, or a tattered horse-cloth extended on the "points of their spears. The great object of this class was plunder."

Such, however, were the men who, when the Emperor turned from his last fruitless campaign against their hill forts, followed his army into the plain between Poona and Ahmednugger, routed it, and well nigh took him prisoner. He reached Ahmednugger with difficulty, despatched his son Kambuksh to assume the

government of Beejapoor, and falling ill, announced that mortal sickness had overtaken him. He died there on the 21st of February, 1607, and his body was taken to the town of Roza, near the caves of Ellora, the burial-place of the Nizam Shahy Kings of Ahmednugger, and interred near the tomb of Boorhan Shah, a local saint of some repute, whose memory he had venerated during his life. As he had requested in his curious will, no mausoleum was raised over the great Aurungzeeb. His simple grave remains as it was originally made, its only covering being a jessamine trained over a slight trellis-work, which still survives and, as is locally said, bears perpetual blossoms.

The struggles for the empire which ensued among the sons and successors of Aurungzeeb, and the events under which the great Nizam-ool-Moolk became Viceroy of the Deccan, and eventually declared his independence, need not be recapitulated here; nor the perpetual wars with the Mahrattas, attended with varied success on both sides, which followed for many years. Gradually, as the history of the times will inform the general reader, the Mahrattas pursued their conquests northwards, until at length Dehli itself, and its unfortunate Emperor, Shah Alum, fell into their hands, when he was blinded, deposed, and only rescued from his situation of irremediable ruin by British arms. Gradually, too, the successors of Nizam-ool-Moolk found province after province wrested from them, and were obliged to recognize and admit the claims for Chouth, and Sur Deshmookhee, which had been allowed by Aurungzeeb. In 1795, the disputes between the Nizam and the Peshwah had reached such a point of complication, and the parties had become so utterly irreconcilable, that nothing was left but a final appeal to war; and the Nizam and the Mahratta armies marching from their respective capitals about the same time, met half way near the small town of Kurdlah on the 10th of March. The Mahrattas had brought with them 84,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry, and 192 field guns; the Nizam, 45,000 cavalry, 44,000 infantry, and 108 guns, and in both armies were divisions of Europeanized infantry, that of the Mahrattas commanded by M. de Boigne, the Nizam's by M. Raymond. Nothing, however, like a general action ensued between these great hosts; some slight skirmishing had occurred during the day, and the Nizam, finding it impossible to pursue his march towards the fort of Puréndah, halted for the night at a village in the plain beyond Kurdlah. Before midnight the Mahrattas began to harass the Nizam's camp with rockets and musketry, which so alarmed His Highness, that he retreated with the ladies of his harem into the small fort of Kurdlah. The Nizam's army, with the exception of part of the French battalions, made no attempt at defending him, or meeting the enemy, and fled in most disgraceful order up the Moori Ghat and along the valley of the Manjera, followed by the exulting Mahrattas, whose presence alone now, as they boasted then, and still boast, "was enough "to set the whole of the Mussulmans in the Deccan flying panic-stricken, from the first glint of sunlight on "their spears." The Nizam lost his camp equipage and guns: his retreating army was mercilessly plundered, and great numbers destroyed. This was the last contest between the Moghul Mahomedans and the Mahrattas, and its results to the Nizam were very disastrous. He was obliged to cede to them, in addition to their former demand of "the fourths" and "tenths" of his revenue, nearly all the provinces which had composed the kingdom of Ahmednugger, with a line of districts from Aurungabad to the Krishna, including Aurungabad, Ahmednugger, and Beejapoor, of the value of thirty-four lacs, 340,000*l.* a year, and to pay three krores and ten lacs, 3,100,000*l.* in cash, as arrear of tribute and expenses of the war. Beejapoor thus passed under the Peshwah's government; and during the period of Mahratta occupation, was reduced to its present mournful condition of ruin. All local accounts agree that the Moghuls, even to the period of the Nizams, preserved order in the capital, and that the palaces in the fort were to the last "as if their royal masters had left them only the day before;" but with the rude Mahrattas it was sadly different. The beautiful carved screen-work windows and doors of palaces were soon taken out and disappeared. Their wooden floors, and joists, were broken up for fuel, and, as timber in Beejapoor was dear, were sold or carried away by petty chiefs, who were improving their houses. Thus from 1795 to 1818, a period of twenty-three years, the aggregate of spoliation may be better imagined than described. Never was desolation more complete, except, perhaps, that of Beejanugger by the confederate kings, for which, according to all local Hindoo belief, this was a judgment of God. When the descendant of Sivajee, who had been confined to the fort of Sattara by the Peshwahs in succession, was released by British troops in the Mahratta war of 1818, and established in independence at Sattara with some of the ancient provinces of his State as an appanage, there was none which was more an object of inclusion than Beejapoor. The continued possession of the royal city was flattering to national vanity, and strange to say, it was allowed; for Beejapoor was included in the list of

districts which composed the revived kingdom. It is for ever to be regretted that this was done, and that Beejapoor was not made the permanent station of a large force, or at least that an express stipulation in regard to the preservation of the royal edifices was not provided; thus the work of spoliation continued with renewed vigour, and the most perfect and deliberate impunity. Palaces and private houses were soon unroofed for the sake of their noble teak beams. The whole of the window and door frames, with their exquisitely carved lattice-work, were carried away in cartloads to Sattara, and to every other place of which the owner could get an order from the Sattara Rajah. There are persons still alive in Beejapoor who witnessed this devastation with a grief which is now outspoken, and accompanied by many a deep curse; and tell of it with mournful tears.

When the Rajah of Sattara visited Beejapoor, to select what he required, he was struck with the gilding of the "Sona Mahal," or Gilded Palace, and that of the walls of the Palace of the Seven Stories; and in the latter scraped off some of the gilded plaster with his own dagger. It glittered in his hand, and conceiving the walls contained a treasure of gold, he ordered all the gilding to be scraped off, and "an army of workmen" were employed for the purpose. "What did they get?" cried the narrator, an aged Moollah, to the writer of this memoir. "What did they get? Nothing but dust! The gold of the valiant kings of Islam turned to "dust in the hands of infidels—and the Lord has revenged the spoliation of his servants' palaces. Could that "house stand which was built of stolen wood?" It had not stood, certainly, for the short-lived kingdom of Sattara had just passed away, and Beejapoor belonged to the Queen of England. Then, too, as a first graceful act to the royal memories enshrined there, all the edifices of any note were placed under complete repair. To Captain Hart, of the Royal Bombay Engineers, was committed this difficult and arduous task, for in some cases ruin was far advanced, especially of the beautiful Ibrahim Roza Mausoleum. By science and perseverance, however, obstacles were overcome: and at the expense of about 60,000*l.* the restorations were completed, while occasional repairs continue as needed. But Beejapoor can never again attain any eminence as a city. It is on no general line of communication or trade; the locality is perhaps the least productive in the Deccan; and the population, from the nature of the soil, is sparse and comparatively poor.

THE AUTHORITIES CONSULTED IN THIS MEMOIR ARE THE FOLLOWING:—

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2. Faria-Souza, a History of Discovery and Conquest of India, by the Portuguese, translated by Capt. John Stevens. 1694.
3. Scott's Deccan.
4. Dow's Hindostan.
5. Ferishta's History of Mahomedan power in India. Translated by Colonel Briggs.
6. Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.
7. Elphinstone's History of India.
8. Marshman's History of India.
9. Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. 1841-4. Memoir on Beejapoor, by James Bird, Esq.
10. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIII. Account of Beejapoor in 1811, by Capt. Sydenham.
11. Literary Transactions, Bombay, Vol. III. Notes on Beejapoor, by Capt. Sykes.
12. Siyavul-Mutakhurim, translated by Colonel Briggs.
13. Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam, by Capt. Hastings Fraser. 1865.

For the historical information contained in all of these works, the author desires to tender his respectful acknowledgment.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Invasion and Bahmuny Dynasty of Goolburgah.

A. D.

1294. Alla-oo-Deen, son of Julal-oo-Deen Khiljy or Ghilgy, Emperor of Dehli, invaded the Deccan—defeated Ram Deo Jadow or Yadává at Deogurh, who agreed to pay tribute to the Emperor.

1309. Mullik Kafoor, General of Alla-oo-Deen Khiljy, now Emperor, invades the Deccan a second time—penetrates to Dwar Samoodra or Hullybeed, in Mysore, subverts the Bellal Dynasty of Hindoo princes, and defeats the Rajah of Wurungul.

1312. Mullik Kafoor again invades the Deccan, and establishes himself at Deoguth as Viceroy.

1318. Moobaruk Khiljy, who had succeeded Alla-oo-Deen, visits the Deccan, executes the last surviving member of the Jadow family, and establishes posts as far as Dwar Samoodra.

1338. Mahomed Toghluk, Emperor of Dehli, visits Deogurh, which he names Dowlutabad, and declares it to be the capital of India.

1347. Zuffir Khan, Viceroy in the Deccan, rebels, defeats the Emperor, and is crowned King of the Deccan at Dowlutabad, on August 12, under the title of Alla-oo-Deen Hassan Gungoo Bahmuny. He takes possession of all the former Mahomedan conquests south of the Tapty.

1358. Mahomed Shah Bahmuny I, son of Alla-oo-Deen, succeeds. First war with Beejanugger, arising out of the King's order on its treasury to his musicians. The King vows to slay 100,000 Hindoos.

1375. Mujahid Shah, son of Mahomed, succeeds to the throne. Second war with Beejanugger for possession of Rachore Dooab.

1378. Dawood Shah, uncle of Mujahid, succeeds, April 14.

1378. Mahmood Shah I, youngest son of Alla-oo-Deen Hassan, succeeds, May 19.

1397. Gheias-oo-Deen, his son, succeeds, April 20.

1397. Shumah-oo-Deen, brother of Mahmood, succeeds, June 9.

1397. Feroze, son of Dawood, succeeds, November 15. King of Beejanugger, Deo Rái, invades the Bahmuny territory. Third war with Beejanugger. King Feroze marries daughter of the Rajah. Fourth war with Beejanugger.

1422. Khan Khanan, brother of Feroze, succeeds, September 25, under title of "Ahmed Shah Wully." Fifth war with Beejanugger. Wurungul taken.

1435. Alla-oo-Deen Shah II, his son, succeeds, February 19. Sixth war with Beejanugger, conducted by his brother, Mahmood Khan, who rebels, and is assisted by the Rái. Seventh war with Beejanugger.

1457. Hoomayoon Shah (Zalim), his son, succeeds; Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, Minister.

1461. Nizam Shah, his son, succeeds, September 3.

1463. Mahomed Shah, his brother, succeeds, July 29. Conspiracy against Mahmood Gawan, who is executed, April 5, 1481. The State distracted by local factions. Authority of the State usurped by Ameer Bereed.

1482. Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, son of Mahomed, succeeds, March 24. Yoosuf Adil Khan assumes independence at Beejapoor in 1489; Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry simultaneously at Ahmednugger. 1510, Kootub-ool-Moolk revolts and becomes King of Golcondah. Authority of the State usurped by Kasim Bereed.

1518. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, son of Mahmood, succeeds.

1520. Allo-oo-Deen II. succeeds, and is deposed.

1520. Wully-oolla-Shah murdered in 1523 by Ameer Bereed, who usurps the throne.

1523. Bahmuny Dynasty ceases to exist.

Adil Shahy Dynasty of Beejapoor.

A. D.

1489. Yoosuf Adil Khan declares independence at Beejapoor, and founds the Adil Shahy Dynasty. Citadel and works of fort partly completed. First Beejapoor war with Beejanugger. Portuguese take Goa, 1510.

1510. Ismail Adil Shah, his son, succeeds. Second war with Beejanugger; first war with Ahmednugger. Beeder taken.

1534. Mulloo Adil Shah, his son, succeeds, and is deposed.

1534. Ibrahim Adil Shah, his brother, son of Ismail, succeeds. Third war with Beejanugger; second, third, and fourth wars with Ahmednugger. Defences of Beejapoor completed. Mausoleum of Booboojie Khanum built. Palaces in the fort enlarged. Mehturi Mahal attributed, but most probably much later.

1557. Ali Adil Shah, his son, succeeds. Alliance between him and Rajah of Beejanugger against Ahmednugger,—fifth war. Crusade of four Kings of Deccan against Beejanugger. Battle, and destruction of Beejanugger, 1565. The Jumma Mosque, the Adalut Mahal in the citadel, Mecca Mosque, 'Houz-i-Shapoor, or great well, the aqueducts, his own unfinished mausoleum, and completion of the city walls are attributed to him; the Mosque of Yacoot Dabuli, and many other private buildings, are of this reign.

1579-80. Ibrahim Adil Shah II, his son, succeeds. Sixth and seventh wars with Ahmednugger. The Gugun and Anund Mahals in the citadel attributed to this King. His own mausoleum, the Ibrahim Roza, some additional aqueducts belong to his reign; unfinished mausoleum at Allapoor.

1627. Mahmood Adil Shah, his son, succeeds. Beejapoor first attacked by Moghuls. The Gol Goomuz, his mausoleum, the Sathkhundi, or Palace of Seven Stories, in the citadel, some aqueducts, the Ashar Shureef Palace, the "Sonèri Mahal," the palaces at Toorwéh, were erected by him. Other buildings of his reign are the Taj Bowlee, Mehturi Mahal (probably), Mosque and Palace of Mustafa Khan Ardistany.

1656. Ali Adil Shah II. succeeds his father, November 4, 1656. Beejapoor attacked by Aurungzeeb, who proceeds to Dehli. Fatal expedition against Sivajee by Afzool Khan. Beejapoor attacked by Rajah Jey Singh and Moghul army.

1672. Sikundur Adil Shah, a minor, succeeds his father, December. Sivajee dies, April 5, 1680. The Emperor Aurungzeeb returns to the Deccan, 1684. Beejapoor besieged and taken, October 15, 1686, and the Adil Shahy Dynasty ceases to exist, its dominions being annexed to the Moghul Empire.

PART IV.

OF THE CITY OF BEEJAPOOR.

IN its greatest prosperity, which it reached probably during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. and his successor, Mahmood, 1620—1650, Beejapoor is said to have contained 984,400 persons, which, from its extent, is not improbable. As the account is derived from the census of the Jizeea, or poll-tax of Aurungzeeb, it does not probably include many women, and, at an estimate of 1,000,000 of souls, its population will about equal that of other great Indian capitals at a similar period. It is reputed to have possessed 1600 mosques, and that the caravanserais, monasteries, temples, wells, barracks and arsenals, palaces and private houses of distinction, were beyond enumeration. At this period the revenues of the State are stated to have been upwards of 10,000,000*l.* sterling, and under the estimate of Aurungzeeb, taken when it was annexed by him, in 1689, were upwards of 7,500,000*l.* At the accession of Mahmood Adil Shah, in 1626, the army is stated to have consisted of 200,000 foot, partly paid and kept in the field, and partly provided for by grants of land as militia and as garrisons of forts, 80,000 horse, and a large train of artillery.

In the situation of Beejapoor there is nothing picturesque or striking. For a long distance on all sides of it the country consists of the undulating downs of the Deccan, the highest portions of which are covered with a shallow stony soil, which affords little more than pasturage for herds of cattle and sheep. The villages of the country lie in the hollows between these downs, the lands of which are of richer quality, and where there are plentiful supplies of water. Around Beejapoor itself there is, for the most part, an arid stony plain, the only rising ground being to the south-east, from which there is a fine view of the whole extent of the fortified city and its far-extended suburb. Standing on this elevation, the city is immediately at the spectator's feet, and beyond it a rolling country in all directions, which, affording no object in particular on which the eye can rest, blends, in a series of wavy lines growing fainter and fainter in the distance, with the horizon and the sky. Beejapoor is situated very near, or indeed partly upon, the actual watershed of the general Deccan plateau, whence tributary streams, which join the Bheema to the north and the Krishna to the south, take their rise, and the city is at a considerable elevation, probably not less than 2000 feet above the sea-level. The climate is therefore temperate and pleasant, and has a good reputation for salubrity; and in the hot season is not without influence, especially at night, from the sea-breeze which comes up from the coast. In the monsoon months, June to October, the climate is very refreshing and delightful; the rains are not severe, occasional showers falling to temper the air and preserve the verdure of the great plains and their early crops of grain, which are then a beautiful feature of the landscape. As the monsoon closes, harsh, dry, and often piercingly cold winds arise from the north-east; the herbage dries up, though it still continues very serviceable for pasture; the temporary beauty of its verdure disappears, and the plains assume that unchanged and most monotonous tint of yellowish brown, which, unrelieved as it is, except by occasional clumps of trees about the villages, proves very wearying to the traveller.

On three sides of the city these undulating plains may be described as for the most part stony and sterile. Here and there fertile portions of soil are met with; but these of themselves would have been insufficient for the maintenance of any large amount of population. On the fourth, or eastern side, however, a short distance from the capital, the broad valley of the small river Dône begins, and continues in a south-easterly direction until the river passes through the granite hills which border the Krishna, into which it falls. In the whole of this

valley, which is from ten to twenty miles broad, the soil is of the richest and most productive quality; and in good seasons the amount produced of Jowáru (*Holkus sorghum*), wheat, pulses of all kinds, and other cereals, is almost incredible. Thus the fertility of this tract has passed into a local proverb:—

"If the harvest on Dône be good, who shall eat it?
If a bad one, who shall eat?"

This tract, therefore, with the rich lands lying on the banks of the Bheema to the north and the Krishnah to the south, were the granaries of Beejapoor, and supported its large population with little variation of supply.

Beejapoor is a Mahomedan euphonized corruption of Vijya Poora, "the city of victory." It was a considerable town before the Mahomedan conquests, and by some local antiquarians is supposed to have been called Vidya Poor, "the city of learning," because of an ancient Agrahar, or college, there, still existing, the original endowments of which, by the Chalúkyá dynasty of Kulliani, are commemorated upon large stones or pillars, that are to be seen near the old Hindoo College, inside the second gateway of the citadel. These inscriptions are of no very great antiquity, one being of the Chalúkyá dynasty, A.D. 1192, the other of the Yádává, A.D. 1249. The local tradition is, that a band of Mahomedan Ghazees, or fanatics, preceded the main Mahomedan army in the second invasion of Mullik Kafoor, destroyed or drove away the Brahmins of the college, and established themselves in it. Nor is this improbable, since there are traces of similar early local occupation in other portions of the Deccan and in Berar. Up to the period of the establishment of the Adil Shahy dynasty, A.D. 1489, there is no mention of the fortification of the old Hindoo town, and its site for the new city is stated to have been determined by Yoosuf Adil Shah, in pursuance of a dream in which one of the former Brahmins of the temple appeared to him, and declared he would attain royal honours if he protected Brahmins and Hindoos, and restored the privilege of ancient worship according to the tenets of the Hindoo faith; and there is at least no doubt that this prince, as well as his successors, were more considerate to their Hindoo subjects than the kings of the Bahmuny dynasty had ever been. The design of the fort and citadel, or "Arq," will be better understood by the plan attached to this work than by mere descriptions; and the general style of the fortifications has been previously explained. The enceinte was very large, 6½ miles, and the cost of constructing the fortification must have been enormous. Nor would it have been possible for Yoosuf Adil Shah, with the comparatively small revenues which his kingdom at first afforded, to have entered upon such an undertaking, but for the fortunate capture of the treasury of the Hindoo King of Beejanugger, in April, 1493, which has been already related in the course of the historical memoir.

From a distance of from ten to fourteen miles, the great dome of the tomb of Sooltan Mahmood begins to rise above the intervening undulations; and as the city is approached, fills the eye from every point of view. The immense proportions of this mausoleum have a lighter and more elegant appearance from a distance than when viewed from the interior of the place; and perhaps there is no point at which it appears more imposing or beautiful than from the site of the Moghul batteries on the high ground to the south-west. But, from whatever direction it is approached, the city, in its present desolation, has an appearance of grandeur which leaves a strong impression on the mind. Its still perfect walls and bastions, its domes and minarets, the masses of palatial ruins standing up from among what appear to be groves of trees, convey to the spectator the idea that it is yet inhabited and prosperous; and he is the more shocked, perhaps, when he views the mournful desolation which bursts upon him as he enters the city itself. If by the western gate, this effect is not perhaps so immediate, for near it a remnant of population, with a small street of shops, still exists; and it is only when this is passed that the general condition of the interior grows more and more painfully impressive. But the traveller will be well prepared for what he has to see by what he has passed since he crossed the first lines of enclosure about five miles from the city gates. These are the outerworks of all, which were begun in later times, and traced, but never completed. The conception was vast, but its execution impossible. In the valley below these works lie the palaces of Toorwéh, near the royal gardens, built by Ibrahim Adil Shah II, between 1597 and 1604, of which the massive walls and some of the large arches of the upper stories remain. These buildings are said to have been destroyed by Mullik Umber of Ahmednugger, when he partly invested the city and plundered its suburbs, a few years after their erection; but the city was so often invested by hostile armies in the latter years of the Adil Shahy dynasty, that it is impossible to decide by which of the besiegers

these outlying palaces were brought to ruin. From Toorwéh to the city gate, the road lies through what was formerly that portion inhabited by the general trading and miscellaneous population, interspersed, however, with the ruins of some of the palaces and garden-houses of the nobility. On the right of the road are a fine Durgah of the descendant of the Mahomedan saint, Alla-oo-Deen Chisti, who is held in much local estimation, and the ruins of the palace of Afzool Khan, who was murdered by Sivajee, and whose remains were buried at his town of Afzulpoor, on the Bheema, where his mausoleum is still perfect. On the left, appear the palace of the Nawab of Savanoor, which is in good condition; and elsewhere a maze of mounds and *débris* of buildings of all kinds, partially overgrown with scrubby brushwood, the design of which—except that of the main street, three miles long, and perfectly straight—is now untraceable. Here and there either a stone mosque, a caravanserai, an ornamented stone enclosure, a small cemetery, or a tank or fountain, still exists entire and uninjured, and adds to the general mournful effect.

From the northern approach the view is also extremely fine, and there is less of ruin and desolation apparent. The village of Allapoor is inhabited; and, though surrounded by acres of broken walls, still shelters its families of hereditary cultivators and shepherds. Near it, to the immediate right of the road, are the basements and unfinished arches of a noble mausoleum projected by Sooltan Mahmood II. to his mother's memory. In the plain which on this side forms the great esplanade of the fort, famous in Beejapoor annals as the battle-ground where local feuds, and actions with invaders, were fought out, stand several stately single mausoleums and detached private burial-grounds, with small chapels and wells. The largest of these tombs is that of Ein-ool-Moolk, or rather what he had built for himself; but he was never buried there, having been killed in the rebellion of Prince Ismail, son of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, in 1593, when his head was sent to Beejapoor and shot out of a cannon in the direction of this mausoleum, in a spirit of grim and bitter vengeance. Part of a gold chain still hangs from the roof, of which pieces have been shot away by local marksmen from time to time, and only a small portion remains. The general view of Beejapoor from Allapoor is a very fine one. In the foreground are the ruins of the unfinished mausoleum of Sooltan Mahmood's mother, and the wide esplanade of the fort, with the tomb of Ein-ool-Moolk and many detached cemeteries, &c. Beyond, the unbroken line of walls and towers of the outer fort, with the massive mausoleum of Mahmood Adil Shah, the minarets and dome of the Jumma mosque, the massive ruins of the palaces in the citadel over-topping its walls, that of the Seven Stories being most conspicuous—the great cavalier called the "Oopurè Boorje;" and, in the distance, the graceful domes and minarets of the Ibrahim Rôza. These, with numerous other minarets, domes, and ruins, mingle with noble tamarind and mango trees which impart a softness to the remains among which they flourish, combine to form an impressive picture, which, once seen, can never pass away from the memory.

Entering by the eastern, or Bahmuny gate, so called from being in the direction of Beeder, the place where the traitorous minister, Khan Mahummud, was assassinated, in 1658, on his return to the city after its first siege by Aurungzeeb, the scene of desolation at once commences; but mournful as it is, the picturesque beauty of the combinations of buildings, the fine old tamarind and peepul trees, the hoary ruins, and distant views of the more perfect edifices, combine to produce an everchanging and impressive series of landscapes. Nowhere in the Deccan, not even at Beeder, at Goolburgah, or in the old fort of Golcondah, is there any evidence of general public taste and expenditure like that proved by the remains in Beejapoor—and for days together the traveller, or sketcher, will wander among these remains with his wonder still excited and unsatisfied. It is not by the grandeur of the edifices, now perfect, noble as they are, that the imagination is so much filled, as by the countless other objects of interest in ruin, which far exceed them in number. Palaces, arches, tombs, cisterns, gateways, minarets, all carved from the rich brown basalt-rock of the locality, garlanded by creepers, broken and disjointed by peepul, or banian trees, each, in its turn, is a gem of art, and the whole a treasury to the sketcher and artist. Near the centre of the city, on the left hand of the road going westwards, are several noble Adamsonia trees (*Baobab*), the seeds of which were originally brought from Africa by Abyssinians. The trunks of several of them are of enormous girth. Under them was the place of public execution, and the close green sward, moistened with the blood of perhaps thousands, it is said never withers, and preserves a perpetual verdure.

Crossing the ditch by a causeway into the citadel, the visitor will pass two traversed gateways of considerable strength, and cannot fail to be struck with the height and massive appearance of the fortifications. Inside are the stones on which Sanscrit inscriptions still remain perfect; and the ancient college, converted into a mosque, to which they have reference. The pillars of this edifice are of granite, which must have been brought from the banks of the Krishna—where the basaltic trap changes into granite formation—with immense labour. The college is a very extensive building, consisting of an oblong set out with rows of pillars about ten feet from each other, and its construction is on the Hindoo mortice and tenon principle of southern India. It would appear as if, having none of their own architects or stone-cutters with them, the first Mahomedan settlers in Beejapoor perforce adopted the same style; for a small mosque exists in the citadel whereon is an inscription in the Dévá Nágârí or Bálbôa Sanscrit character, to the effect that one Mullik Kureem-oo-Deen erected it in the year Shalivahan 1242, A.D. 1320, and that one Revoiya, a carpenter of Salhaòdagé, received, in freehold tenure, 120 *chawars* of land as the price of his labour; and as this was twenty-six years after the invasion of Alla-oo-Deen Khiljy, it is a proof that the Mahomedans were already well established in the country.

The interior of the citadel is almost indescribable, being nearly covered with masses of enormous ruins, now almost shapeless, interspersed with buildings still perfect. All those which had vaulted roofs are sound, but all in which wood existed are roofless and irreparably ruined. The building called the royal kitchen, but most probably a store-house, is a fine hall, and in the *débris* at the upper end, pieces of the royal china, of the finest quality and colour, are still found. The palace of the Seven Stories, built by Mahmood Adil Shah II, though parts of several of the upper stories have fallen, is still sufficiently perfect to prove its original beauty; and of the other palaces the walls are for the most part quite sound and strong, showing the grandeur of their designs, and the admirable details and proportions of arches, halls, balconies, and terraces. Elsewhere in India, small low rooms, elegant as they may be, narrow windows, close confined halls, and enclosures, are characteristic of native architecture; but in these Mahomedan edifices were broad arched windows once filled with carved wooden screen-work, spacious apartments, and lofty halls of audience, in truly noble and majestic design. The front of the "Sona Mahal," the great hall of audience is open in one lofty arch of ninety-two feet span, and proportional height, leading to the hall within, at the further end of which, on the first story, is the balcony where the kings sat to receive their subjects; and it is impossible to conceive any court of grander effect in its almost austere simplicity than this, or of more impressive character. It was here that the Emperor Aurungzeeb received the submission of the last Adil Shahy king, the youthful Sikunder, amidst the passionate tears of the nobles of the kingdom, and the wailing cries of thousands, which went up, as the tradition is, "as a witness against him to the throne of God." In the citadel the visitor, if he be acquainted with its past history, will have many a scene of historical interest shown to him. The court which the devoted Dilshád Agha, and her royal mistress Booboojee Khanum, Queen of Yoosuf Adil Shah, clad in armour, and fighting among their soldiers, defended against the attempt of the treacherous Kumal Khan to murder the young King Ismail; the place where the son of Kumal Khan stood when the young king pushed over a stone from the parapet above, which crushed him to death; the window where the dead body of Kumal Khan was set out, as if alive, to encourage the soldiery in their brutal assault; the place on the rampart where Dilshád Agha threw over the ropes, and the faithful band of Persians and Moghuls ascended by them and saved the queen and her son. All these will be pointed out with every accompanying evidence of probability and truth; as well as the apartment whence the traitor Kishwur Khan dragged the noble-hearted Queen Chand Beebee to her prison at Sattara. Then, in a lighter vein, the visitor will be told of the merry monarch Mahmood; he will be shown the still entire and exquisitely proportioned and ornamented room where happy hours were passed with the beautiful Rhumba; and though it was much defaced when the Rajah of Sattara began with his own dagger to scrape the gilding from the walls, there are still traces of the picture of the jovial king and his lovely mistress. Such, and hundreds of other tales of wild romance and reality which linger amidst these royal precincts, will, if the visitor choose to listen to them, be told him by descendants of those who took part in them, with as fond and vivid remembrance as the Moorish legends of the Alhambra are told there.

For such legends of that beautiful memorial of past greatness, an interest for all time has been

created; but no one has succeeded in awakening for Beejapoor any corresponding feeling, and far grander as its memorials are, accounts of them are listened to with a cold scepticism or indifference which hitherto nothing has aroused. And yet, inspired by the effect of these beautiful ruins, with the glory of an Indian sun lighting up palace and mosque, prison and zenana, embattled tower and rampart, with a splendour which can only be felt by personal experience, it may be hoped that some eloquent and poetic pen may be found to gather up the fleeting memorials of tradition which are fast passing away, and invest them with a classic interest which will be imperishable. Above all, however, these noble monuments may serve to lead our countrymen to appreciate the intellect, the taste, and the high power of art and execution which they evince; to consider their authors not as barbarians, but in the position to which their works justly entitle them; and to follow, in the history of those who conceived them, that Divine scheme of civilization and improvement which, so strangely and so impressively, has been confided to the English nation.

SKETCH

of the

FORT AND CITADEL

OF

BEEJAPOOR.

Scale...1250 feet to an Inch.

REFERENCE TO FORT.

PORT CHITTERS

CITADEL

NOTE.

London, John Murray, Albemarle Street.

PART V.

DESCRIPTION OF BUILDINGS IN BEEJAPOOR, ETC.

THE GREAT GUN, MALIK-I-MYDAN,

OR "MASTER OF THE PLAIN," BEEJAPOOR.

(*Vignette on Title.*)

THERE is no doubt that this is the largest piece of ordnance in the world, and the manner in which it has been designed, and the finish bestowed upon it, prove the art of casting cannon to have been in a very advanced state in the Deccan at the date of its origin, 1548. It was cast at Ahmednugger, by Mahomed Bin Hassan, Roomy (Turk), in the reign of Boorhan Nizam Shah I, who was celebrated in the Deccan for the large parks of artillery which he brought into the field, and the frequency with which he lost them. The dimensions of this gun are as follows:—

	ft.	in.
Diameter at the breech	4	10
Diameter at the muzzle	5	2
Diameter of bore	2	4½
Length	14	3

It is, in fact, a gigantic howitzer, and was intended to fire stone shot, some of which lie near it, prepared from pieces of fine hard basalt. The gun rests, as represented in the photograph, upon a bastion on the west side of the fort, the position of which will be observed in the map, and which appears, from the quaint chronogram in the parapet, to have been especially built for its reception. This inscription is thus translated by Mr. Bird:— "During the reign of the victorious king surnamed Ali Adil Shah, to whom by the favour of Murtuza "(Ali), God granted a distinguished victory, this bastion was, in the course of five months, made as firm as the "strong mountain, through the fortunate endeavours of Mujly Shah; at which time an angel, in delight, gave "the date of the year, saying, 'The Shirza bastion was without an equal,' or Hegira 1079, A.D. 1668."

Before this, and from the time of its construction, as may be presumed, the gun had been on the walls of the fort of Purendah, certainly the strongest and most beautifully built fort in the Deccan, which is still in a perfect state of repair. The king mentioned in the chronogram of the bastion is Ali Adil Shah II, and the period at which it was brought to Beejapoor from Purendah was, according to Mr. Bird, 1042 of the Hegira, or thirty-seven years before the erection of its bastion. This would place the date of its acquisition in the reign of Mahmood Adil Shah, which is confirmed by the fact that, in that year, Moortuza Nizam Shah, the last king of Ahmednugger, who had latterly lived at Purendah, was murdered by his minister; and in the distraction attending the extinction of the Ahmednugger kingdom, the fort of Purendah fell into the hands of the Beejapoor army, and the gun was removed as a trophy of war. A local historian records "that on the 10th "Mohorum, 1042 Hegira, Agha Rizwan delivered up the fort of Purendah to the King Mahmood Ghazy, at "which time, 'Morari Mahratta,' who had obtained command of the fort, brought the Malik-i-Mydan to "Beejapoor."

The inscriptions upon the gun itself, are as follows :—

1. " There is no God but God, and none besides him."

2. " Abul Ghazi Nizam Shah, king, servant of the race of the Apostle, and of the house of God, H. 956."

3. " The work of Mahomed Bin Hassan Roomy."

4. By Aurungzeeb after capture of the city :—" Shah Alumgeer Ghazy, the asylum of religion, who " granted the claims of the just, took possession of a kingly country and conquered Beejapoor. For the date of " the conquest, good fortune came and said,

' He subdued the master of the field.'

" In the thirtieth year of his exalted reign, corresponding with the one thousand and ninety-seventh year of the " Hegira." (A.D. 1685).

It appears from the furrows or scratches inside the gun that it has been often used. In the last siege of the fort by Aurungzeeb, the Ibrahim Rôza formed one of the Imperial pickets, and shots from the Malik-i-Mydan struck the building, inflicting some damage. The Rajah of Sattara fired it, charged with eighty pounds of powder. The metal is an alloy of 80.427 parts of copper, to 19.573 parts of tin, and on being struck is remarkably resonant. For the most part the outside is plain, but the muzzle is shaped into the jaws of a Shirza, or great dragon, and there are some neatly-executed chasings on the breech.

It was proposed at one time to remove this fine memorial of antiquity to England ; but at the period at which the practicability of this measure was discussed, the state of the Deccan roads prevented any attempt being made. They are now, however, much improved, and the gun might be taken with comparative ease to Sholapoor, which is about two-thirds of the way to Purendah whence it was brought, and it could then travel by railway to Bombay to be shipped for England.

Plate I.

GENERAL VIEW OF RUINS OF PALACES IN THE CITADEL.

THIS general view of the interior of the citadel has been taken from the roof of one of the numerous ruined buildings on the north-eastern side of the citadel, and conveys an excellent impression of the general condition of ruin and desolation. It is almost impossible to follow the details of buildings which exist in this quarter: public offices, harems, barracks, gardens with pavilions and raised walks, small private mosques, and stables, are grown over by rank underwood and creepers; and, however picturesque in decay, afford no subjects for particular remark or description. In the middle distance is the noble ruin called the Sonéree Mahal, or Gilded Palace, from the great amount of internal decoration bestowed upon it. It is an immense block of building, the front being open to the north by a fine arch, inside which was the king's hall of audience and balcony above, in some respects on the plan of the Ashar Mobarak, but far larger in area, and three stories in height. This had a wooden roof, which, as well as the wooden flooring of all the stories, was removed by the Mahrattas, probably at an early period after the city fell into their possession. The whole of the interior is therefore a vast shell; but the walls seem to bid defiance to time, and are still without signs of decay.

On the left, the lofty upper stories of the palace of Mahmood Shah rise above the trees, and immediately behind them are the domes of the mausoleums of Khowas Khan and Kishwur Khan. In the centre of the distance are the dome and minarets of the Ibrahim Rôza, and the high ground in the horizon is that beyond Toorwah, which formed the western boundary of the vast city.

PLATE II.

PART OF THE CITADEL WALLS, WITH CHINCH DIDDI MOSQUE.

THE photograph conveys a good idea of the style of the fortifications of the citadel. This view is taken at the upper or south-east side of the walls, where the ditch is dry; in other parts it is full of water. The defences consist of an upper rampart of earth dug from the ditch and faced with cut stone, having large bastions at intervals, and the parapet of the curtains is finished by machicolated battlements, pierced with loopholes for musketry. Some of the bastions are round, but most of an octagon form. The height of the walls is irregular, but generally from 40 to 50 feet. A fausse braye also, having bastions and curtains like the rampart, runs all round the foot of the wall, and there is sufficient space left between it and the wall to allow of the movements of troops, or the passage of guns, with every facility. The ditch was excavated down to the solid rock, but is now much filled up with earth and rubbish, and the revêtements of the counterscarp, and the covered way have fallen in; but the main works themselves are nearly as perfect as they were when built, and will endure for ages to come. In the distance is the gate of the citadel, where there is a causeway across the ditch, and in the right-hand corner of the view a mosque, called the Chinch Diddi, built upon a square cavalier, which may have also been used as a guard-room, as it affords a fine view over the citadel and enceinte of the fort.

The walls of the citadel were begun by Yoosuf Adil Shah, shortly after his assumption of independence in 1489, and were continued by his successors up to the reign of Ali Adil Shah, who died in 1579. The circumference of the citadel, which is an irregular circle in form, is about a mile and a-half, and that of the city upwards of six miles. The dispositions of the walls and bastions in each will be seen by the map facing page 63.

PLATE III.

ANCIENT HINDOO COLLEGE IN THE CITADEL.

THIS building is the most venerable in Beejapoor, and is a remnant of the Hindoo sovereignty which existed before the invasion of the Mahomedans at the end of the thirteenth century. It has been before mentioned that they found a dynasty of Jadows or Yadavas at Deogurh, which had subverted the Chalúkya dynasty of Kalliani. At what exact period of time this event occurred is not exactly discoverable, but was probably from A.D. 1190 to 1200. Considerable light, however, is thrown upon the subject by a Sanscrit inscription upon a polished basalt, or more probably hornblende, stone near the entrance of the citadel, which records that in the year of Shalivahana 1114, A.D. 1192, a grant of land was made by Mula Devara Chalúkya, for the maintenance of the temple, which was dedicated to Nara Sinha, an incarnation of Vishnu; and there is a second inscription on another stone near it, to commemorate a like gift to the same temple, by Shankrapa Danda Naik, minister of Narayun Yadava, during the forty-sixth year of his reign, or in the 1162nd year of Shalivahana, A.D. 1240. In the course of the intervening forty-eight years, therefore, the Yadavas must have entirely subverted the Chalúkyas in this portion of the country. Even before that period a temple probably stood on this spot, and had most likely been erected by one of the earlier kings of the Chalúkya Dynasty, whose dominions extended to a great distance. The original temple was, it is said, destroyed in the building of the fort, and some detached pillars of it remain here and there; but the Agrahar, or college, attached to it, is still wonderfully perfect, though necessarily out of repair. It is composed of material belonging to the most ancient style of Hindoo architecture, square stone pillars, with the ends of two beams resting on the heads of each capital. Across these stone beams were laid joists of smaller size, and the interstices filled up either with rubble plaster, or, in many instances, with clay. In this specimen we find two stories above the ground story, which is unusual, but in this case has been perfectly successful; great as was the superincumbent weight, the pillars have sustained it perfectly. Here and there the pillars are ornamented, as well as

the beams and capitals; but in other cases, the pillars and beams remain as they were roughly quarried, the notches of the wedge-holes by which the stone was split being still perfectly sharp. The stone used is indeed indestructible by time, being granite or syenite, brought from the banks of the Krishna, where this rock begins to occur. The building was probably converted into a mosque by the Mahomedans of Mahomed Kafoor's irruption who were left in Beejapoor as a garrison, and the mimbur, or pulpit, and the inscribed confession of the faith of Islam, were placed among the figures of idols with which some of the pillar-shafts and capitals are decorated. As Mr. Bird's description of the building is perfectly correct, it is here given :—" It possesses a large " enclosed space in front, which is entered by a vestibule, whose portico, being extended into wings, occupies " the complete length of the agrahar. On entering therein, we find that the building consists of two stories, " and that the lower presents a front of ten tall columns, each of a single stone, placed six or seven feet from " each other, and deepening backwards at right angles in rows of six columns each." Generally speaking, the transverse stone beams are undressed; but the finish of them, as well as of the pillars, which was generally undertaken *in situ*, had been commenced; and it will be seen that the portico in front has stone eaves, which conceal the beams, and were no doubt intended to have been continued all round each story of the edifice.

Immediately over the college is seen the " Cheeny Mahal," or " China Palace," of the Adil Shahy dynasty, on account of its having contained the china vases, bowls, and services, which had been collected at an immense cost. Pieces of these vessels and plates are still frequently found among the rubbish inside. By some this building is called the " king's kitchen;" but in reality it appears to have been one of the royal store-houses. The upper story, if ever complete, is destroyed; but the room in which are the five open arches is a very noble one. It has a terraced roof, supported by shafts and groined pendentives, which spring out of the sides; it is still quite perfect, and is certainly one of the finest remains in the citadel. To the right is the royal palace of the Sath Khundi, or Seven Stories, which will be described in its turn, and between are masses of undistinguishable ruins, which were most likely offices.

Plate IV.

ANCIENT MOSQUE IN THE CITADEL.

TO all appearance this is a Hindoo temple in the style of the Agrahar, or college, just described; but the inscription on its interior, given by Mr. Bird, proves it to be a mosque built by the earliest Mahomedan settlers at Beejapoor. The famous expedition of Mullik Kafoor, the general of Alla-oo-Deen Khilji, in which the great Hindoo city of Dwarsumoodra, or Hullabeed, in Mysore, was captured and ravaged, and Ram Déo, the rajah of the Bellal dynasty, utterly defeated, took place in A. D. 1309-10, and the inscription, which, strange to say, is in the ancient Mahratta dialect and character, bears date A.D. 1320. From the route indicated in the history of Mullik Kafoor's campaign, it is evident that he must have passed Beejapoor, and established a garrison there. The inscription runs as follows:—

" In the fortunate year of the Shaka or Shalivahana period, 1242 (A.D. 1320), in the Roodra year of the " cycle, the hero and victorious ruler, Mullik Kurim-oo-Deen, who, like the sun, is all powerful, erected the " upper part of the mosque. Revoiya, a carpenter of the village of Salhaódage, constructed the mosque, and " agreed to receive, as the price of his labour, a saleable estate of twenty chawar of land of twenty cubits, which " was fixed and given. May it greatly prosper."

The carpenter Revoiya, who, as is generally the case in village communities, was the architect also, built the mosque after the only style he knew, that of wood, and, had it ever been finished, it would have been a handsome edifice. Some of the pillars are considerably ornamented in a plain Hindoo style, especially those of the ground floor. In the upper portion they are as quarried, and the notches of the original wedge-holes are very observable in both the upright and transverse stones of the upper portion, which, like those of the Agrahar, are granite.

PLATE V.

RUINS IN THE CITADEL, AND MOSQUE OF YOOSUF, TURK,

FOSTER BROTHER OF YOOSUF ADIL SHAH.

THE scene represented in the photograph, eminently picturesque as it is, and one of scores which open upon the visitor to Beejapoor, almost at every turn in its citadel, derives more than ordinary interest from the small mosque which appears in the foreground. It will be remembered by the reader of the historical memoir that, after the death of Yoosuf Adil Shah and the accession of his infant son, Ismail, an attempt was made by the Regent Kumal Khan to get possession of the king's person, in order, no doubt, to effect his murder, and that also of his mother, Booboojee Khanum, the Queen Dowager; that Kumal Khan himself was assassinated in his own apartments by the young king's foster-father, Yoosuf *Turk*, who devoted his own life to the preservation of the royal family; and that after the tumult was quelled, through the intrepid conduct of the Queen and Dilshad Agha, the sister of Yoosuf, his body was carried out by the young king, and buried with every possible honour; and a mosque, with a dome over the tomb, erected to the memory of this aged and faithful servant. In the view, the mosque, which is a small and unpretending edifice, is in front; and the tomb, with its dome, behind it. During his life it is recorded that Ismail Adil Shah visited this tomb once every month, and distributed alms there; nor has veneration for the memory of the dead entirely departed.

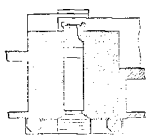
PLATES VI. TO XVI.

THE MEHTUREE MAHAL.

ACCORDING to the local legend, which is recounted to all visitors with little variation, this beautiful building owes its origin to a fortuitous circumstance. Ibrahim Adil Shah I, who was afflicted with virulent leprosy, receiving no relief from his physicians, many of whom, on failure of their remedies, he had cruelly put to death, resorted to the consolations of his astrologers; and was told by one of them that if he were to give a large sum of money to the first person he beheld as he awoke on a certain morning, it would be expended in charitable works, which would be the means of ensuring his recovery. The person who purposed to receive the royal bounty was the astrologer himself; but the king happening to wake too soon, saw only one of the "Mehturs," or sweepers, attached to the palace; and calling him, wrote an order upon the royal treasury, desiring the man to take it himself immediately. The sweeper considered the paper nothing less than a command for his own immediate execution,—for such events were common in the state of mind the king then was,—and hesitated as to whether he should deliver it, or fly. Fatalism, however, suggested, that, if his end was come, it would be useless to endeavour to avoid his destiny; and the order was duly delivered. The amazement of the poor fellow at the unexpected nature and amount of the royal gift was unbounded; there was no resource left but to take it; and he determined to fulfil the astrologer's prediction, and found a mosque which should eclipse all others in Beejapoor. Of this determination the "Mehturee Mahal" was the result.

The Photograph No. 6 gives only a general view of this edifice. It fails in conveying any idea of the beauty or finish of the ornaments; and it is fortunate that in this respect the photographs from the exquisite drawings of Mr. Cumming and his able assistants, Kummur-oo-Deen and Hurrichund Neelajee, supply, with entire completeness, what would otherwise have been wanting. The building consists of a ground-floor entrance-hall, with staircases leading to the pavilion above, and it is in this portion that the decorative skill of the

artists has been so richly lavished. The ornaments of cornices, brackets, and mouldings, inside and out, with the perforated brackets which support the eaves over the windows, are, beyond any question, the most perfect specimens of the art of stone-cutting in Beejapoor, and can only be understood by examination of the details of the architectural drawings. The stone used in this building was not the basaltic trap of the locality. It is the laminar limestone which, at about thirty miles south-east of Beejapoor, begins to appear under the trap, and lies between it and the granite. It is known to geologists under the name "Kurnool limestone," given to it by the late Captain Newbold, F.G.S., and is found in great perfection and beauty of colour at and near Talikôta. The grain of this stone is very close and fine, the texture hard and tough, breaking with a conchoidal fracture; its colour, a light yellowish or creamy grey. The transport of the material must have been very laborious, and its working far more expensive and tedious than basalt; but no such work could have been executed in basalt:



and it was only the extreme tenacity of the material which admitted of the intricacy which has been imparted to the perforated brackets and other ornamental portions. Had these been cast in brass, indeed, they could not have been finer in execution and in polish. The annexed block-plan, on a scale of 25 feet to 1 inch, explains the general form and dimensions of the building.

Plate XVII.

UNFINISHED MAUSOLEUM OF ALI ADIL SHAH I,

USUALLY CALLED THE ROZA ALI.

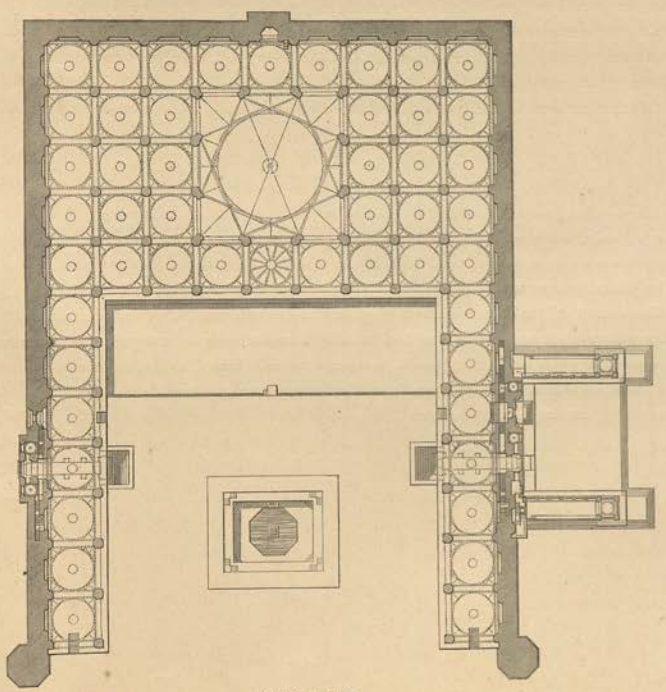
IF this mausoleum had been finished, it would probably have been a grander building than that of his successor known as the Ibrahim Rôza, and if not so florid, certainly more elegant in appearance. It was to have been erected on a platform of nearly 200 feet square. Its outer arches, of about 25 feet span, would have been seven in number; the inner five, of the same dimensions; and the centre, where the king's grave is in the crypt beneath the platform, would probably have been covered with a dome after the usual pattern. The present condition of the ruin is interesting, as showing the centering of the arches, built up of loose dry stone, the top of which was plastered with tenacious clay into the shape required. The outer faces only of the stone are chisel-dressed, from whence it may be inferred that the inner portions of the building, where the stone is undressed, were either to have been covered with stucco or carved *in situ*. The photograph shows these centerings, and also the skeleton structure of the arches, very perfectly.

This picturesque ruin is situated outside the citadel, on its north side, and on a slightly rising ground, which would have given it a very commanding appearance. Ali Adil Shah reigned from 1557 to 1579. He was the founder of the noble Jumma mosque, much of the city wall, the aqueducts, &c, and was cut off in the prime of his life by assassination in a brawl with one of his servants. But for this untoward end, he might have lived to complete his own mausoleum. But in the Deccan, as elsewhere, unless the founder is able to complete the edifice during his lifetime, it is left untouched by his successors.

PLATES XVIII. TO XXIX.

THE JUMMA MOSQUE.

THIS noble building, the largest religious edifice in the Deccan, was founded by Ali Adil Shah I, the fifth king of the Adil Shahy dynasty, who succeeded his father Ibrahim in 1557, and reigned till 1580. The Photographs Nos. 18 and 19 give its general appearance from without; but as the mosque forms part of a court, it is difficult to obtain any view which conveys a distinct idea of the whole of the edifice, or of its general effect. No. 18 shows the whole of the front, with its seven fine open arches, the central one, or entrance, being richly ornamented with stucco-work in delicate arabesque patterns; but the side cloisters, which, with the building itself, form three sides of a square, do not appear in the view. The ornamented eaves and stone brackets supporting them are also well given. Of these the central portion, which was struck by lightning, has fallen. This view was taken from the interior of the court, which prevents the lower portion of the clerestory of the dome being seen, and injures the general effect. On entering the building, the long rows of aisles formed by the pillars which support the arches and their domed centres, have a very solemn and striking effect, which the want of light in the view fails to convey; and a better idea of the general design and arrangement of these aisles, and of the open space under the great dome, is obtainable from the subjoined woodcut of the plan, and from the architectural elevations (Pl. 20 to 24).



Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch. GROUND PLAN.

Although undoubtedly begun by him, it is uncertain whether the whole of this building was finished by Ali Adil Shah; and it is locally reported that every succeeding monarch, up to the period of Aurungzeeb, contributed something to its perfection. It is at least certain that the floor was altered by that Emperor, and divided into spaces, each sufficient for one person at prayer: they are of white stucco, surrounded by a rim of black, and convey the idea of a chequered or tesselated pavement, harmonizing well with the general effect of the interior. There are upwards of two thousand of them.

The only portion of the mosque that is richly ornamented is the mihráb, or central recess (Pl. 26), beside which is the marble mimbur, or pulpit. The photograph from the original architectural drawing shows the richness and variety of the ornamental designs, which are in polished white stucco like marble, and the peculiar beauty of the sentences from the Koran, in the Toghra character, which are gilt, on a ground of lapis lazuli enamel. This splendid specimen of decoration is fortunately still in perfect preservation. It bears an inscription in Persian, to the effect that it was executed by Mahmood Adil Shah, who professed the Soonee creed of Mahomedanism. Before his reign, the State profession of faith, as is detailed in the historical memoir, had, for the most part, been the Sheeah, which affects, perhaps, more austerity than the Soonee, and during its continuance the mihráb was no doubt as plain as the other arches which belong to the series; the Soonee alterations, therefore, form an important corroboration of historical facts. Two other Persian inscriptions are verses, which are thus rendered in Mr. Bird's account of the mosque:—

"Place not reliance on this life, because it is not steadfast; and in this house of inquietude nothing is at rest for any one."

"Pleasant is the stage of the world now sparkling in mine eye, and happy is the lot of my life, but it is fleeting."

No truer commentary upon these verses could be given than that afforded in Photograph No. 19, which shows the south-east side of the whole building, its entrance-gateway, court, and part of the cloisters which enclose the court, with the outside of the south side. The view has been taken from the terrace of one of the small houses which now adjoin the building, and which, built of mud and stone, with clay terraces, furnish the contrast everywhere seen in Beejapoor between the magnificence of its past and the poverty of its present condition.

The original velvet curtain for the mihráb and some of the ancient carpets are still in existence, and are worthy of the building; but the carpets which the visitor is told covered the whole of the floor, many superb brocade and velvet curtains by which the central portion of the building could be enclosed for the private devotions of the king's family, and a massive gold chain which hung from the apex of the dome, were taken away by Aurungzeeb when the city was captured in 1686, and most likely formed part of the prize-money of his army.

The Jumma mosque was one of the great public buildings of Beejapoor which was put in thorough repair by the Government of Bombay soon after the city came into British possession by the annexation of Sattara; and some descendants of the ancient servants of the building remain to sweep it, and perform the necessary services. The Mahomedan population of Beejapoor is, however, extremely limited, and where the prayers of assembled thousands were once offered, it is questionable whether at any time now, one hundred Mussulmans can gather together at the great festivals of their creed.

PLATES XXX. AND XXXI.

MOSQUE AND GATEWAY BUILT BY NAWAB MOOSTAFA KHAN ARDISTANY, AND GATEWAY FOR THE NUKAR KHANA OF HIS PALACE.

THE Nawab Moostafa Khan Ardistany was originally in the service of Ibrahim Kootub Shah, King of Golcondah; and in the year 1558 was dispatched on a confidential embassy to Beejapoor, in order to negotiate an alliance for the purpose of crushing the power of the Hindoo prince of Beejanugger, by whose encroachments the Golcondah kingdom was then much distressed. It was arranged that should Ali Adil Shah consent to the league, Moostafa Khan was to proceed to Ahmednugger on behalf of both powers. Succeeding in both missions, he finally brought about the famous crusade which ended in the battle of Talikôta, and downfall of Beejanugger. After this campaign, Moostafa Khan entered the service of the King of Beejapoor; and having served with much success and distinction as a general officer of the royal army, was raised to the office of prime minister in 1573. After several campaigns against the feudal chiefs of the Beejanugger kingdom, he proved not only victorious in the field, but, by his judicious and conciliatory conduct, succeeded in settling the country and in attaching all these feudatories, who were for the most part Beydur Poligars, to his sovereign's service. In 1579, Ali Adil Shah died, having confided during his lifetime all the affairs of his kingdom to Moostafa Khan, and allowed him the possession and use of the royal seal; and henceforward the minister's life became one of vicissitude till his death. He was deposed from the office of minister by Hadji Kishwur Khan, who was at the head of the Deccany party, and seems to have retired to his estates at Bunkapoor. The new minister, at first obsequious to the Queen Dowager Chand Beebee, very soon altered his tone, and began to act independently of her altogether, when her advisers suggested that she should invite Moostafa Khan to resume his former functions; but Kishwur Khan was not without information of the queen's design, and now determined to destroy Moostafa Khan without delay. To this end a letter was written to an officer who resided on his estate near Bunkapoor, and who, notwithstanding that he had been raised to his present rank by the minister, determined to obey the order from Kishwur Khan, and bring about his execution. This letter was, in fact, a warrant under the king's seal for the execution of Moostafa Khan; and when shown to the officers of the garrison of Bunkapoor, they proceeded in a body to the minister's court, when he was at prayers, and he was forthwith strangled by them with a bowstring. The history of the times gives a high character of this nobleman, who was of Persian origin, whether as a general, a diplomatist, or a civil governor; and his death forms another mournful episode of those factious intrigues which prevailed during the latter part of the existence of the Adil Shahy dynasty.

The mosque built by Moostafa Khan Ardistany is of no pretension, and was evidently intended for his own private worship and that of his retainers and dependants. It appears to the right hand of the Photograph No. 30, only partially seen, the small dome being over the recess near the pulpit. The entrance-gate fronts the spectator, and the door is partly blocked up with stones. Above the ground story is a pavilion with four open arches which looked down upon a small garden attached to the mosque.

The fine gateway represented in Photograph No. 31 is unfinished. It was intended for a Nukar Khana, or balcony in which the "Nobut," or band of music attached to nobles according to their degrees of rank, plays at stated hours of the day. The extensive ruins of the Nawab's palace lie behind this entrance-arch, and cover a large extent of ground; they are, however, nothing but a mournful waste. The palace and mosque are situated in the vicinity of the Mehturee Mahal, in the main street of the fort.

PLATES XXXII. TO XLIV.

THE IBRAHIM RÔZA.

THE Rôza, or "Garden," is situated about half a mile, or perhaps somewhat less, from the walls of the city on the south-~~east~~ west side, and is, as the original designation correctly expresses, an enclosed garden, in which are situated the most gorgeous, and, to this day, the most perfect, of the royal buildings at Beejapoor. They are the Mausoleum of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. and his family, the Mosque attached to it, and the terrace on which both are built. The history of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. has been given in the historical memoir, and further allusion to it is therefore unnecessary, except so far as that the long, and, for the most part, peaceful reign of this king, forty-seven years, left him at liberty to pursue what may be termed the hereditary taste of his family in architecture, and to have a building erected, which has no rival in the Deccan, nor, indeed, probably throughout India. The "Rôza" was begun as the tomb of his favourite daughter, Zôhrah Sultana, who died at the early age of fifteen; and was eventually also to cover the remains of himself, his wife Taj Sooltana, and his mother, who are all buried here. Ibrahim Adil Shah II. succeeded to the throne in 1579, and died in 1626; and, as the building is reported to have occupied twelve years in erecting, and its internal and external decorations were not finished for thirty-six years, it had probably been completed only a comparatively short period before his death. Its cost is recorded in an inscription on one of the doors to this effect:—

"Mullik Sundul, after great exertion, and the expenditure of one lac and a-half and nine hundred of hoons, caused this tomb to be completed to the memory of Taj Sooltana, at whose purity Paradise was astonished."

Mullik Sundul was probably the officer who was the superintendent of the works; and their cost, assuming the hoon to be worth seven shillings, and the expenditure to have been as recorded, 150,900 hoons, would have been 528,150*l.* sterling, at the present value of gold; but more if the value of money at the period is considered. In another part of the inscription it is mentioned that 6533 workmen were employed, and that the time occupied in construction was thirty-six years, eleven months, and eleven days.

Of the exterior of these buildings there are three photographic views. No. 32, taken from the outside of the enclosure, gives a general idea of the whole. In the centre is the entrance-gateway, which of itself is a very elegant and highly ornamented structure, with a long cloister on each side supported on pillars, intended to shelter the equipages, horses, or servants of visitors to the royal garden. To the right of the picture, with a strong light on its front, is the mosque; and on the left, in shadow, the tomb.

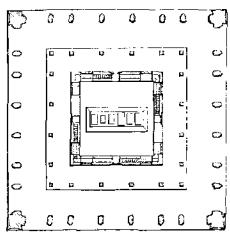
Photograph No. 33 is of the mosque and part of the terrace, and gives details of the ornamented minarets, the perforated balustrades, the magnificent carved brackets of the eaves that are continued all round the building, and of its generally graceful proportions and lofty minarets.

Photograph No. 34 is of the northern face of the tomb, all faces being the same. The entrance-gateway is partially seen to the right, and the dome and minarets of the mosque appear to the left of the view, over the side of the tomb which is in shadow, being separated from the tomb itself by a terrace, paved with neatly-fitted flags of basalt.

The whole of these buildings are constructed of basaltic trap rock, which, in the locality of Beejapoor, is of a very fine grain, and remarkably tough consistency; not too hard to work, and probably growing harder by exposure. It is of a dark rich brown, or greyish brown colour, and occasionally almost black, especially where polished, and is susceptible of as high and perfect a finish as marble.

It is little to say that every portion of these buildings is perfectly finished, outside and in. While the outside has received the highest completion that the chisel could afford, much of the inside work has been polished with emery, and has every appearance of marble; and the workmanlike skill in the fitting of the stones and the symmetry of all the designs—the perfect executive skill, in short, of every portion—convey to the mind a very high estimate indeed of the architectural science which must have directed the workmen, and of their individual mastery over their material.

Of the beauty of the tomb itself, the picturesque photographs give a less complete idea than of that of the mosque. Those from the architectural drawings, however, which give representations of portions of all the details—cornices, brackets, carved pillars and pilasters, perforated windows and doors, and arabesque patterns into which sentences of the Koran are, as it were, woven with singular skill—suffice to enable the elegance and beauty of the individual portions to be comprehended. Most of these are in the interior of the building, where insufficient light exists for photography; and they would have thus been lost to the artistic world, or uncomprehended by mere description, had it not been for the patient labour and excellent draughtsmanship of Mr. Cumming, a gentleman young in years and in his profession when he made the exquisite drawings of which the present work supplies photographs. No other European has yet appeared who possessed to the same extent the peculiar faculty of rendering with the same minute care and delicacy in execution, what had been designed by the native artists and architects of the best period of Mahomedan architecture in the Deccan.



Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

The annexed woodcut will explain the ground plan of the mausoleum, which forms a square of 116 feet each way. The outer cloister is 15 feet broad, and the rest belongs to the tomb itself, whose peculiar construction can only be understood by reference to the section drawing, No. 37. This reveals the interior of the edifice, and the room in which the tombs of those buried in the crypt below are situated. The ceiling of this room is one of the most curious and interesting specimens of architectural skill at Beejapoor; for it is flat, and constructed of irregularly-shaped pieces of stone, which are fitted into each other by cement.

This edifice was in much danger of ruin at the time of its repair and restoration; and great fertility of scientific resource has been displayed by Captain Hart, of the Bombay Engineer Corps, in the construction of flying buttresses between the outer cloisters and the main building, which not only harmonize with the original design, but unite them firmly to the main body of the edifice, and make the whole probably more durable than ever.

PLATES XLV. AND XLVI.

GATEWAY AND MOSQUE OF YACOOT DABOOLI, SOMETIMES CALLED HADJEE BUNEE SAHIB.

THE person who erected these handsome buildings was an Abyssinian officer of the court of Mahmood Shah. An inscription in the Jumma mosque, in which his name occurs, is to this effect:—

"Yakoot Dabooli was the servant of the mosque, and slave of Mahmood Shah, whose shadow may God protect, A.D. 1635."

The mosque is perfectly finished, and though of no great size, is the most highly decorated of any of the smaller ones without the walls of the citadel. The carved brackets supporting the eaves over the gateway, as well as the minarets, are highly finished works, as also the arches on the left-hand of the gate, those on the right-hand of the view being incomplete. Entering the court by the gateway, the superior style and finish of the architecture at once arrests the attention. The four large brackets of the eaves, and all the intermediate ones, are beautiful specimens of ornamental carving in basalt, as also are the vases and central decorations of the minarets. Within, the roof is supported by groins, the shafts of which spring from the arches and corners of the building, which at the back rise into pendentives to support the dome. The front of the arches and the interior are finished with fine stucco, and the ornaments at the sides and over the centres of the arches, as well as many inside, are very delicately executed. Taken as a whole, this is the best specimen of an entirely private mosque which exists in the fort.

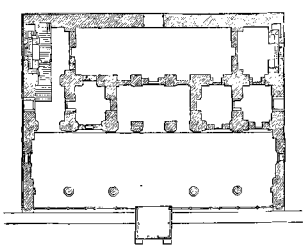
In the distance to the left of the mosque is the huge cavalier called the Oopree Boorj, or Hyder Boorj, which was built by Chanda Khan Hyduri, in the year 1573, and forms, from its size, a remarkable object from all quarters of the fort. Two long cannons, made of bars of iron welded together and secured by rings, are still mounted on it as pivot guns. Between this cavalier and the foreground, the walls of the citadel and part of one of the royal palaces appear in the middle distance.

PLATES XLVII. TO LIII.

THE ASHAR MOBARAK, OR ASHAR MAHAL.

THE preservation, in its original condition, of one of the royal palaces of Beejapoor, is fortunate, inasmuch as it serves to give to the visitor a perfect idea of what those in the citadel were at the period of the capture of the city by Aurungzeeb; but had not the Ashar Mobarak contained relics of the Prophet Mahomed, which were brought to Beejapoor, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, by a venerable Syud, or descendant of the prophet, Meer Mahomed Sadur Hamadani, it is more than probable it would have shared the fate of other palaces desolated and destroyed by the Mahrattas. These relics, which consist of two hairs of the prophet's beard, were bestowed on King Mahmood, in return for his hospitality, by the Syud; and were at first, and till the capture of the city, kept in a small building or chapel built especially for them in the citadel: but the Emperor Aurungzeeb, with, in this case, a singular effort of conservatism, transferred them to the palace, where they have since remained.

The Ashar Mahal was built by Mahmood Adil Shah for an occasional residence, on the crest of the eastern glacis of the citadel, with which it was connected by a bridge across the ditch, here full of water. The bridge itself has been destroyed, but its piers remain. After the transfer of the relics to this palace it became a sacred edifice, and was thus respected. No woman was, or is, allowed to cross its threshold. The original casket containing the hairs, which is of gold set in pearls, is kept in a shrine in one of the smaller rooms adjoining the balcony on its north side, and on the anniversary of its reception is shown, with many formalities, to the people of the town and country around, and many miracles are attributed to it.



ASHAR MOBARAK. GROUND PLAN.
Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

The photographic view of the building, No. 47, gives a very faithful representation of it. Its dimensions, according to the annexed woodcut of the ground plan, are 135 feet north and south, by 100 feet east and west, and it faces the east in the direction of the mausoleum of Mahmood Adil Shah, of which there is a fine view from the terrace roof. It is said, indeed, that this palace was erected by the king in order that he might watch the progress of his mausoleum at all times, without interrupting business; but as a readily accessible building for a court, or for purposes of justice, it has many advantages over the more secluded edifices of the citadel. It consists of a ground floor and a story above, in which are the principal apartments. One of these, situated behind the balcony, is 81 feet long, by 27 broad, and 20 feet high, and is lighted by three large windows, which open on the fort ditch, and are fitted with perforated wooden screens in beautiful arabesque patterns. This is a very noble room, and there must have been many in the other palaces of equal dimensions. Visitors are not admitted to the sacred chamber, before the door of which a rich yellow satin curtain with gold embroidery upon it always hangs; but the corresponding room, the windows of which appear on the left hand of the photograph, partly concealed by the pillar and arch, and more plainly in the architectural elevation (Pl. 48), is a very interesting one. In this are several chests containing original velvet hangings and carpets of the palace, embroidered musnuds, or royal seats, and royal umbrellas of yellow satin with rich fringes. The walls of this room are painted in landscapes with figures, and the design, especially of the foliage and colouring, leads to the supposition that they were the work of Portuguese artists. In one of the compartments is a portrait of

Mahmood Shah, with his mistress Rhumba. The king's face is handsome, and has a good-natured expression, but that of his mistress has been defaced. There is also a portrait of a Mahomedan priest, said to be that of the donor of the relics; it is a fair handsome countenance. The lower portions, however, of these paintings, which were in oil colours, or distemper varnished, are much faded and destroyed; and it is said that the Emperor Aurungzeeb defaced many of them with his own hands, all portraits or pictorial representations being offensive to bigoted Mahomedans like himself.

The front verandah, 120 feet long and 33 broad, runs the whole length of the building, being only partly broken by two arches seen in the photograph, built by Captain Hart in order to strengthen the edifice. They do not appear in the architectural elevation No. 48. The tall pillars of the front are single teak beams of 35 feet in length and 4 feet diameter at base, dressed into an octagon form; and the woodwork of this verandah, and generally of the whole palace, the fittings of the windows, and their carved "jalousies," brackets, &c. show that the carpenters of Beejapoor were in no degree inferior to the stonemasons of the same period.

Before the palace is a tank or reservoir of considerable size, which is still supplied from one of the branches of the aqueduct. Beyond this and at its sides were offices, many of which are unroofed and in ruin; but a detached portion of the palace to the north, called the Jeház Mahal, or Ship Palace, from being near the water of the ditch, was apparently intended as a place from which reviews of troops or other spectacles in the esplanade without could be witnessed, and is still in good repair.

In the Ashar Mahal, part of the royal Adil Shahy library is still preserved; and some of the books are curious and interesting to any one acquainted with Arabic and Persian literature. All the most valuable manuscripts were, it is said, taken away by Aurungzeeb in cartloads, and what remain are literally only a remnant, but a precious one to the persons in charge of the building, who show them with a mournful pride and regret.

Plates LIV. to LVII.

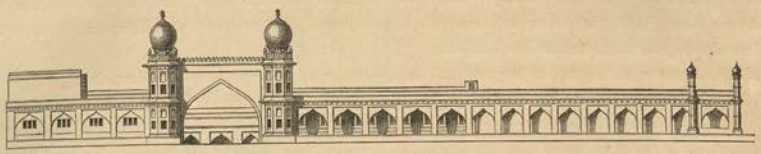
THE TAJ BOWREE.

THIS fine well or tank, which contains a never-failing supply of the purest water, is situated in the broad street or road which runs westward from the citadel to the Mecca and Shahpoor gates of the fort, and is bounded in the rear by the extensive deer park of the Adil Shahy kings, which, with its groves of noble tamarind trees, continues to the southern walls. Like other edifices in Beejapoor, this well has a legend attached to it, which is thus given in Captain Sydenham's narrative:—

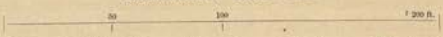
"Its erection is ascribed to Malik Scindial, a favourite minister of Mahmood Shah, who, as before stated, "reigned A.D. 1660—1626. The Malik—so runs the story—was entrusted by his master with a mission of "great delicacy to a foreign court; but knowing that the penalty of a prince's favour is the envy and hatred of "his rivals, took such precautions before his departure as should assure his acquittal in the event of his being "accused of betraying his master, as he fully expected would be the case during his absence. What he had "foreseen took place. The king, listening to the accusations of his enemies, condemned his former minister to "death; but before the sentence could be carried into execution, Scindial produced the proofs of his innocence "of the crime laid to his charge; and the king was so horror-struck at his own precipitancy and injustice, that "he offered him anything he chose to ask, even if it were his kingdom. The Malik replied that, as it was "now impossible he should have a family to perpetuate his name, he was desirous of constructing some work "which should make him remembered by his countrymen in future ages. On this, the king agreed to supply "whatever funds were wanting, and the Tâj Bowlee was the result."

The mission was the escorting to the king of Rhumba, his beautiful mistress, a public singer, who was attached to the court of a rajah of the former Beejanugger territory; but the story of the eunuch is very apocryphal. The building and well were constructed in the reign of Sooltan Mahmood Adil Shah, by "Mullik Sundul" (not Scindial), whose name appears in the inscription on the door of the Ibrahim Rôza, as the executive superintendent of the works of that edifice which were completed in Mahmood Adil Shah's reign.

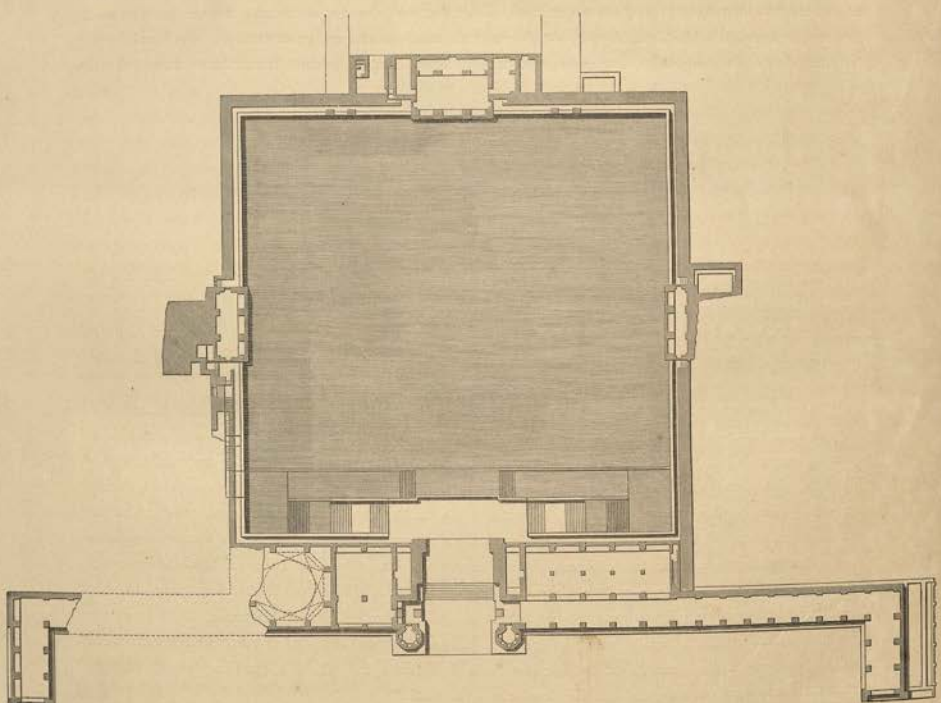
The façade of the building, with its fine archway of 35 feet span, and centre minarets, though incomplete in one part, is extremely handsome. The stone is of a warm sepia brown, lighter and richer in tone than any other building; it was quarried from the well. The apartments in the front portion of the building



ELEVATION OF TAJ BOWREE.



are spacious and comfortable, well lighted by perforated stone windows. The interior room of all is a very elegant one, with a groined roof and pendentives in the corners, which support a dome, and there is no doubt that the whole was intended as a caravanserai for travellers and visitors of the better classes. The well is 52 feet deep in the centre, and a square of 223 feet in area. It was excavated entirely from the basaltic trap rock, and is full of strong springs of pure and wholesome water. At the rear of the building there was a garden irrigated from the well, which is still in existence.



Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

GROUND PLAN OF THE TAJ BOWREE.

PLATE LVIII.

THE SATH KHUNDI, OR PALACE OF SEVEN STORIES.

FROM every quarter of the fort and citadel, this very picturesque building stands high above all other palatial ruins, and in design as well as details is an extremely beautiful specimen of Deccan Mahomedan architecture. It was built by Sooltan Mahmood Adil Shah for the residence of his favourite mistress, Rhumba, and with its fine square, surrounded by cloisters, and the various offices connected with them, was altogether a complete establishment, entirely separated from, and without any connection with, the other female apartments and harems of the citadel. The machicolated battlements to the left in the view are those of the citadel wall, which is here single and surrounded by a broad wet ditch that continues along the western and northern parts. On the other three sides were the offices which, for the most part, are in ruins. The ground floor, and three stories above it, and the palace itself, are, however, perfectly entire; the two stories above them having fallen, the upper one of all entirely, and the second partially. These were roofed with wood, which having been removed, as is locally said, by the late Rajah of Sattara, there was nothing left to protect the walls, and they gradually fell into the ditch, or into the open ground in front of the palace that was once a garden. From the terrace of the present entire story, the view over the whole city within and without the walls, is extremely beautiful, and that from the oriel windows of the story below is scarcely less so. This story is entirely open, forming a succession of three small but elegant rooms which could be divided by curtains, or otherwise left open; and in all the palaces of the citadel there are no apartments equal to these for beauty of design or exquisite finish of the stucco-work. The roof is solid masonry supported by shafts and groins, which spring from the sides and corners of the floor, and expand with fan-like pendentives of almost pure gothic form and most delicate design. Most part of the interior and the lines of the shafts and groins, as well as the compartments of the ceiling, were gilt, and in some parts painted also in azure and other colours. In a compartment of one of the walls of the east room, which is slightly raised above the others, and is the most highly decorated of all, there were portraits of Mahmood Shah and his mistress, of which portions remain, the rest being defaced. It was here, as the local account is, that the Rajah of Sattara began to scrape the gilded plaster with his knife, and the destruction of the rest was speedily accomplished. But for this, and the removal of the upper wooden roofs, it is possible that this fine building would to this day have remained perfect.

The best views of this palace are, perhaps, those from the outside edge of the ditch, where its tall and elegant form, and the richly ornamented oriel windows on the north and western faces, are seen to more advantage than from elsewhere; and some fine tamarind and other trees, with the water of the fort ditch, form combinations of picturesque effect to which there is no rival in Beejapoor.

PLATE LIX.

TOMBS OF LADIES OF THE ROYAL HAREM.

IT has been before mentioned that a large cemetery exists to the east of the royal deer park in the fort, and the tombs represented in the photographic view are part of it, and form an eminently picturesque group among the old tamarind trees. They are very numerous, and in a variety of designs: some being covered, others, like that in the foreground, large platforms of dressed stone, with solid sarcophagi at the top, beneath which were crypts or vaults containing the actual graves. None of them bear inscriptions or dates, and there is no memorial legend attached to them further than that they were the tombs of ladies of the royal harems. In the distance to the right of the view, the mausoleum of Kishwur Khan appears among the trees, and beyond it part of the inner portion of the fort wall.

PLATES LX. TO LXVII.

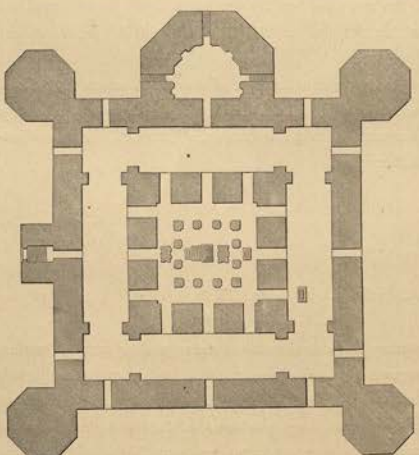
THE GOL GOOMUZ.

MAHMOOD Adil Shah was the son and successor of Ibrahim Adil Shah II; and having succeeded his father in 1626, reigned till 1660. He was an enlightened prince, and of his patronage of architects and personal exertions for the embellishment of his capital many noble remains still exist, such as the Palace of the Seven Stories in the citadel, some of the aqueducts and smaller mosques, and the royal gardens attached to the palaces in the citadel; but, greatest of all, his own mausoleum in the fort, which not only towers above all other buildings there and in the suburbs, but fills the eye from every point of view, and is seen by the traveller at the distance of a day's journey in nearly every direction as Beejapoor is approached.

This mausoleum denotes the highest scientific point to which architectural science attained in Beejapoor; for without an extraordinary knowledge of, and familiarity with, not only its theories but its practice, it is impossible that this great building could ever have been planned, much less constructed.

The outside is well represented in the photographic view, No. 60; and in the front and back architectural elevations, Nos. 61 and 62, no doubt a massive grandeur of effect has been secured, and the ornamental portions of the exterior, though comparatively plain, are yet rich and harmonious. The Photograph No. 60 gives the back, or eastern, and the southern sides, which form perhaps the best view, as the projecting chapel breaks the almost monotonous uniformity with good effect, and is in itself the most decorated part of the building. From every point of view, however, the lower portion appears too much spread out in proportion to its height; and the dome, not having been elevated by a basement or clerestory, as in the Ibrahim Rôza, seems to sink into the body of the building, and becomes, as it were, deprived of its due majesty of height; yet the apex of the dome is 200 feet above the floor, and it is perhaps only from the distance of a mile, as from the plain outside the walls, or the high ground occupied by the Moghul batteries, that the edifice assumes its really noble and even graceful proportions. Inside, however, there is nothing to disturb the imagination, or lead it to question the exceeding skill and taste with which the design was carried out.

The woodcut subjoined shows the massive foundation on which the enormous superincumbent weight rests. The works are literally founded on a rock, for the soil is very shallow, and it is on the basalt rock itself that the foundations were laid. They form a vast gloomy crypt, in the centre of which, but exactly under the dome and the tombstones above, sleep, beneath plain earthern mounds, the Sooltan Mahmood himself, his youngest wife, and the son of Ali Adil Shah II; near them his daughter, Begum Sooltana; his mother, Taj Sooltana, for whom he began a splendid mausoleum near Allapoor which was never finished, but which, according to local tradition, was to have eclipsed the Rôza of his father; and his favourite mistress, Rhumba, a dancing girl, who, it is said, to the last refused the royal honour of marriage. There is nothing but the bare dusty earth in this crypt, and the few withered garlands lying on the graves tell their own tale.



GOL GOOMUZ. PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS.
Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

The building was never perfectly completed, and the enclosure wall is entirely unfinished. Over the front door hangs an immense aerolite, which fell in the vicinity of Beejapoor during the king's reign, and is one of the remarkable objects of the place. Complete repairs

of this building were made by the British authorities at the same period as those of the other edifices in Beejapoor; and those who remember the slight scaffoldings and rope contrivances by which they were effected, and those by which Mr. Cumming and his old Mahomedan assistant made their intrepid architectural measurements inside and out, will perhaps shudder at the recollection.

Plate LXVIII.

MAUSOLEUM OF BEGUM SAHIB.

THIS elegant building stands alone among the tamarind trees to the south of the citadel, which was known as the royal deer park, and is generally believed to be the mausoleum of Booboojee Khanum, or Begum Sahib, the wife of Yoosuf Adil Shah, and first Queen of Beejapoor, though there does not seem to be any real ground for the tradition. She was originally a Hindoo, the daughter of a Mahratta chieftain, who was the king's only wife, and to whose influence his consideration and tenderness for all his Hindoo subjects is attributed. Her admirable conduct and presence of mind during the attack upon her by the Regent Kumal Khan, immediately after the accession of her son, Ismail Adil Shah, as detailed in the historical memoir, will not, perhaps, be forgotten; and it is said that her son accorded to the wish of her life, that she, born a Hindoo, should be buried alone, if she could not be interred beside her husband at Gogi. This mausoleum, therefore, was built by her son Ismail, in one of the most beautiful and secluded parts of the fort, selected by herself, and is therefore a specimen of the earliest Beejapoor style, derived from that of the Bahmuny dynasty, which it much resembles.

The building is a square of about 40 feet, on a platform of 60 feet, and 5 feet high. Each face contains three arches, one of which, by which the figure in the photograph stands, is the door, and the others are partly open windows of perforated stone, in arabesque patterns. The grave is in a crypt below, and on the floor of the tomb is the queen's sarcophagus; above is an octagon clerestory, rising on arches from the groins, which spring from the corners of the floor, and support the pendentives of the dome. The dome itself has an interior diameter of about 25 feet, and, from its raised base and the bold ornaments around it, has a very graceful effect.

Another tradition is that this is the tomb of one of the wives of Aurungzeeb, who died at Beejapoor; but there is no mention of such an event in any local history, and the other account is much more probable.

Plate LXIX.

MAUSOLEUM OF KISHWUR KHAN AND HUZRUT SHAH AHMED.

THESE buildings are situated in the same quarter of the fort as the preceding, and are not far distant from it, standing among some fine old tamarind trees. Kishwur Khan was an officer of high rank in the Beejapoor State, who became prime minister after the death of Ali Adil Shah in 1579, and immediately afterwards caused Mustafa Khan Ardistany to be put to death. His own end was not less tragical, for, having become in the last degree unpopular, he fled to Ahmednugger, where he was not received, and proceeding thence to Golcondah, was assassinated there by a relative of Mustafa Khan's, who had followed him. Huzrut Shâh Ahmed was his preceptor, who on Kishwur Khan's flight and death no doubt promoted the completion of these edifices.

The style of the Saint's tomb corresponds with that of the Begum Sahib's in most respects, both in general arrangement of its parts, and the ornaments and shape of the dome; the arches, however, were originally open, and have been closed by loose dry stone, which spoils their effect. On one side the projecting bay or window,

with its eight elegant arches, is of an octagon shape, and may have been intended as a side chapel. This building is incomplete, the dome and clerestory being altogether wanting; what is seen is the foundation of the dome, which would have been carried up probably to correspond with the other. In the Saint's tomb, also, the clerestory, with its parapet and minarets, is incomplete. Around both the buildings are many tombs of small size, which are those of humble relations or dependants of the family.

Plate LXX.

MAUSOLEUM OF KHOWAS KHAN AND HUZRUT ABDOOL RUZZAK, ALIAS SIDI REHAN, HIS PRECEPTOR.

A LINEAL descendant of Khowas Khan still survives, who is the hereditary Déshmookh of Beejapoor, and by him these tombs are kept in repair. Both are good specimens of local architecture. That of Khowas Khan, the largest in the centre of the group, is octagon, with turrets projecting from the clerestory at the eight corners; each side contains an arch, in the upper portion of which is a perforated stone screen which admits light. The Saint's tomb is altogether of humbler pretensions, being very plain, covered with stucco and whitewashed. These tombs are situated near the Taj Bowree, at the entrance of what was one of the great cemeteries of the fort, to the east of the royal deer park, and in the vicinity of the tombs which have been previously described.

It will be remembered, by the detail of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II, that his minister Khan Muhummud, then regent of the kingdom, had plotted to betray it to the Emperor Aurungzeeb on his first invasion of Beejapoor, and was assassinated at the Allapoor gate of the city on his arrival; and that he was succeeded by his son Khowas Khan. This event occurred in 1658. Ali Adil Shah died in December, 1672, and Khowas Khan was chosen to act as regent during the young king, Sikunder's minority. In 1675, however, Khowas Khan was detected in a conspiracy to deliver up the king's sister, Padshah Beebee, to the Emperor, and with her the whole of the kingdom, under the stipulation that he was to hold it as a viceroyalty of the imperial dominions; and the leading nobles having formed a coalition to defeat this treachery, Khowas Khan was put to death by them. It is perhaps a remarkable circumstance that, of all the noble families of Beejapoor, this, in which the two leading members had been put to death for treason, should be the only one, with very few exceptions, which possesses a lineal representative who, under the enjoyment of hereditary rights, is in easy circumstances.

Plate LXXI.

TOMBS OF SAINTS, NAMES UNKNOWN.

NO names or inscriptions denote the persons to whose memory these buildings were erected. The whole group is highly picturesque, and corresponds with the Golcondah style of architecture, as well from the height of the clerestories, as from the stucco-work of the minarets, and the narrow bases and peculiar shapes of the domes. The buildings evidently formed a family cemetery, being erected upon a platform, below which were crypts and vaults in which the dead were buried.

PLATE LXXII.

MOSQUE OF MOHAFIZ KHAN IN THE CITADEL,

COMMONLY CALLED THE MOSQUE OF ALUMGEER PADSHAH.

OF Mohafiz Khan there is no trace in Beejapoor history; and it is most probable that he was an officer of the Emperor Aurungzeeb, by whose directions the mosque was built for his own private devotions, or as a monument of conquest, during his stay at the capital after its capture. It is situated on the north-east side of the citadel, near the moat, and is only remarkable for a fine arch of 32 feet span in the centre of the front face. The rest of the building is austere in its simplicity; and the absence of all decoration, except to the stone shafts at the sides, which were intended to support minarets when completed, the small brackets of the eaves, the plainness of the interior, and the less pointed form of the arches, combine to mark it as foreign to the local style of architecture. The photograph shows more of the interior of this building than of any other; the shafts and piers of the arches which support the groins of the clerestory and the dome being here distinctly visible.

PLATE LXXIII.

MOSQUE IN THE FORT.

NO name, or date, or legend belongs to this building, which is in fine preservation, and affords a specimen of the melon-shaped domes which are common at Golcondah and elsewhere in the Deccan. From the style of the dome, of the ornaments of the front, and the shape of the arches, the presumption is that it may have been the work of one of the Golcondah officers, who were frequently sent on embassies or other duty to Beejapoor, and died there. In the lower part of the building there is a crypt containing graves, on which the mosque and terrace have been raised. The front of the terrace is incomplete, and was evidently intended to bear ornamental perforated stone screen-work, with a centre oriel; in other respects this building bears marks of careful construction and finish.

PLATE LXXIV.

MOSQUE OF MUSAOOD KHAN AT ADONI.

IT will be remembered that Musaood Khan was prime minister of the Beejapoor kingdom during the latter part of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II, and having retired from office for a while, was subsequently nominated regent of the kingdom, in January, 1678, during the minority of Sikunder, the last king. In this capacity he continued to act till 1683, when he was forced to resign his post, and retired to his estate at Adoni. After the fall of Beejapoor, detachments were sent by Aurungzeeb to reduce Adoni and other important places, but Musaood Khan, seeing the futility of resistance, resigned his official charge as governor of the province, and, until his death, lived in retirement. During Musaood Khan's long residence at Adoni this mosque was built, and it is more elegant, perhaps, than any building of its kind in Beejapoor itself. The perforated stonework of the parapets of the gateway and mosque are unsurpassed in Beejapoor, except by those of the Mehturee Mahal, while the graceful forms and ornaments of the minarets rival, if they do not exceed, those of the Ibrahim Rôza. The chains that hang from the upper cornice of the minarets are not of metal, as might be supposed, but of stone, black hornblende or greenstone, and in their finish equal metal itself.

PLATE LXXV.

MAUSOLEUM OF ASSUD KHAN, AT HOOKEDI, NEAR BELGAUM.

ALTHOUGH these mausoleums are at some distance from Beejapoor, yet, as they commemorate the existence of one of the most celebrated characters in its history, they must be held as strictly belonging to the Adil Shahy dynasty. Assud Khan was originally a European Turk, named Khosroo, who, having highly distinguished himself on the occasion of the attempt of the Regent Kumal Khan to destroy the young King Ismail Adil Shah and his mother, the Dowager Queen Booboojee Khanum, already related, received the title of Assud Khan, with Belgaum as a personal estate and appanage; and he afterwards rose successively to the highest rank in the state as commander-in-chief of the army and prime minister, having not only distinguished himself in many successful campaigns, but on several occasions saved the kingdom from absolute annihilation by his great military skill and valour. The history of the reign of Ismail Adil Shah forms an honourable record of these splendid services. In 1529, Assud Khan's generalship enabled the king to gain the great battle of Beeder, and it was he who penetrated to the camp of Ameer Bereed at night, and carried him off. During this king's life, Assud Khan's generalship is constantly apparent; and at his death, he was nominated protector of the kingdom during the minority of his successor, Mulloo, who was deposed, and Ibrahim, who followed; to whom Assud Khan's services were even more momentous than to his father.

Assud Khan was not, however, destined to escape the effects of malevolent faction, which had been fatal to his other great predecessors in the Deccan. Suspicions were planted in the king's mind by courtiers, and on one occasion he narrowly escaped assassination, which had been directed by the king himself. In 1542, when the very existence of Beejapoor was threatened by a confederation against it, and the king was obliged to leave the capital, Assud Khan interfered, and, as well by diplomacy as by valour in the field, entirely retrieved his master's affairs.

After this, Assud Khan, no doubt disgusted with the king's constant intemperance, seems to have retired into privacy at Belgaum; and at this period the Prince Abdoola, under the support of many of the nobility and officers of the State, and the countenance of the Portuguese, rebelled against his brother; and had Assud Khan joined the confederacy, there can be little doubt that its object would have been successful. It was at this period, to prove his faith, that Assud Khan wrote to the king the mournful and affecting letter quoted in Ferishta's history; but though the king appears to have relented for a while, no perfect reconciliation followed. In 1549, Assud Khan, being aged and attacked by a mortal illness, again wrote to the king, who set out to visit him; but he was too late: the venerable minister had died the day preceding his arrival.

Ferishta gives the following character of Assud Khan in his history:—

"Assud Khan was remarkable for his judgment and talents; and his administration of the Government "during the reign of Ismail Adil Shah has justly rendered his name celebrated in history. For nearly forty "years he was the patron and protector of all the noble and distinguished men of the Deccan. He lived inva- "riably respected and esteemed, and maintained a splendour and magnificence suited to his high station. The "sovereigns of Beejanugger, and others, acknowledged his great abilities and influence by frequently honouring "him with letters, and propitiating him with valuable presents. His household servants—Georgians, Circassians, "Hindoos, and Abyssinians—amounted to two hundred and fifty. He had sixty large elephants, and one "hundred and fifty of smaller size. In his stables were four hundred Arabian horses, exclusive of those of "mixed breed, foaled in India. During his administration he had amassed great wealth. In his kitchen were "every day expended one hundred maunds (2700 lbs.) of rice, (Deccan weight), fifty sheep, and one hundred "fowls, from which some notion may be formed of the expenditure of other articles." (Briggs' Translation, vol. iii. p. 101).

The tombs, it will be seen, are all in the plain, heavy style, which exactly corresponds with those of the Bahmuny kings at Goolburgah and Beeder. Instead of the square clerestory, as in Beejapoor architecture, the dome is carried up straight from the supports for some distance, and is afterwards arched over; while the deep indentations of the sides of the arches were for the most part abandoned in Beejapoor designs.

PLATE LXXVI.

MOSQUE OF TIPPOO SOOLTAN AT SERINGAPATAM.

THE erection of this building was one of the greatest architectural efforts of Tippoo Sooltan's turbulent reign, and, except his father's mausolcum, the only one which is of any moment in Seringapatam. His palaces in the fort, though very extensive, were mean in appearance, and consisted almost entirely of long barrack-like rooms, without ornament or decoration of any kind, being for the most part roughly plastered and white-washed. The mosque, on account of its minarets, is, no doubt, an imposing structure, but they are in a debased and corrupt style of architecture, and the contrast between these clumsy and heavy masses, and the graceful and elegant forms of the Beejapoor buildings, cannot fail to be noticed. The small holes in the minarets are left for pigeons to breed in, and hundreds of the common wild kind are continually hovering about; they are never disturbed, and owe their position to the superstitious reverence for them of the Sultan himself. These minarets can be ascended by stairs from within them, and the views from the gallery above, from whence the usual calls to prayer were made, on all sides, over the rocky bed of the Cavery, the town and fort, and the country beyond, are extremely picturesque. The mosque stands in a court, the cloisters of which are built in the Hindoo style of pillars and blocks of granite, finished by a stucco parapet and screen-work, which is not without elegance. The inside of the mosque is very plain, but the polish and finish of the stucco is remarkable.

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF BEEJAPOOR.

BY JAMES FERGUSSON, ESQ., F.R.S.

THE architectural history of Beejapoor forms a singular contrast with that of Ahmedabad, but is hardly on that account to be considered as less instructive or less interesting. The province of Goozerat was inhabited by a people who had long possessed a nationality and a history, who were clever and industrious beyond almost any other of the races of India, and who possessed arts and a literature of their own. Though forced to submit to the superior organization of the Mahomedans, and in the capital at least to conform with their faith, they in reality conquered their conquerors, induced them to adopt their arts, and to conciliate their feelings in a thousand ways; and when the strong hand was removed the rebound was instantaneous, and the old arts again resumed an undisputed sway.

All this was very different in the country of Maharastra—the Maharatta country of modern times. The inhabitants of those districts seem to have had no separate or distinct nationality, no arts of their own, or literary history that they could rally around, or which was likely to arrest their absolute subjection to the conqueror. The country was also more thinly populated, and did not afford the elements necessary to constitute a governing class. Under these circumstances the conquest of the Deccan partook far more of the nature of a colonization than that of Goozerat. The whole of the army was apparently composed of foreign mercenaries, with scarcely a native element, and the whole of the governing class seems likewise to have belonged to the same extraneous population.

Under these circumstances it would be in vain to look for much Hindoo influence in the Mahomedan architecture of Beejapoor; and in fact nothing at all similar to what is found at Ahmedabad exists in that city. It is true that the two earliest buildings in the Deccanie capital—the AGRAHAR and the OLD MOSQUE IN THE CITADEL (Nos. 3 and 4)—are erected wholly with materials taken from Hindoo buildings. There is, however, no proof that any Temples stood on the spot where they now stand, or even within the precincts of the city, though this may have been the case. Indeed there seems every reason to believe that the pillars and architraves used in these buildings were collected from the porches and colonnades of Jain temples, of which we know that many existed in the neighbourhood, which may have been brought to the spot, and arranged as we now find them, in the early days of the Adil Shahy dynasty.

Excepting these two buildings, there are no others at Beejapoor which, in so far as local peculiarities are concerned, might not have been found at Agra or Dehli, and indeed in Persia, or anywhere else. They have peculiarities of their own, it is true, which will be pointed out hereafter, but they do not arise from the local situation of the city in the Deccan, so much as from the idiosyncrasy of the people to whom they belong, and the circumstances under which they were erected.

The great cause of difference between the Beejapoor buildings and those of the northern capitals, was the length of time during which the style was practised in Hindostan, compared with the very limited period within which all the buildings in the southern capital are comprised. At Dehli the conquerors began to build mosques and tombs as early as the year 1200, using Hindoo, or rather Jaina, architects, as they did afterwards at Ahmedabad. These produced, as in Goozerat, a style combining all the delicacy of Hindoo detail with the largeness of parts peculiar to the Saracenic style of design. From this a reaction induced the stern old Pathans to erect mosques and tombs of great grandeur of outline, but showing an almost puritanical hatred of ornamental

display. This, however, could not last long, and gave place to a style combining richness of ornament with picturesque grandeur of conception, which reached its acmé in the reigns of Shere Shah and Akbar. This, again, gave way to the polished elegance of the style of the reign of Shah Jehan and Jehangire, and only broke down in the reign of Aurungzeeb about the year 1700.

It will be easily understood that five centuries of continued exertion in the same path, under the most favourable circumstances, and supported by imperial munificence, did produce a completeness of style hardly to be expected from the artists of a provincial capital, where the art flourished in reality for only one century; and the immense variety of styles which the ruins of Agra and Dehli display, in consequence of their long history, is more captivating at first sight than anything in Beejapoor. On the other hand, there is nothing in Hindostan which can compare for grandeur of conception with the Tomb of Mahmood, nor any so elaborately rich in ornamental detail as the group of buildings comprised in the Ibrahim Rôza. The tombs of Humaioon and Akbar will not bear comparison with them. Some will no doubt be inclined to think that the Taje Mehal at Agra is superior to anything in the south; but it is difficult to institute any very satisfactory comparison between it and them. The white marble of the Taje, and its inlaying of precious stones, are most important adjuncts, but hardly legitimate circumstances to take into consideration in criticising an architectural design. The situation too of the Taje on the banks of the Jumma far surpasses that of any building at Beejapoor, and it retains its gardens and its range of marble fountains, which every Rôza had, but only very few indeed now possess; all these add immensely to the charming effect of the Taje Mehal as it now stands, but must not be allowed to mislead us in judging of the comparative merits of its design. With the same advantages the architect of the Gol Goomuz would certainly have produced a far grander building, and the architect of the Ibrahim Rôza one more picturesquely magnificent, either, in all probability, much more impressive than the pride of the northern capital. Indeed, for certain qualities, the buildings at Beejapoor stand quite alone among the examples of Saracenic art, and these qualities, if not the very highest, rank very high among the art principles of architectural design.

For the purpose of elucidating the history of the style, it is to be regretted that there are so few buildings in Beejapoor erected by the early kings of the dynasty. For the first sixty or seventy years after their accession, the struggle for existence was too severe to admit of much leisure for indulgence in the luxury of art. The quasi-Hindoo mosque and the Agrahar sufficed for public buildings. Their palaces, though probably gorgeous, seem to have been composed of wood and materials of little durability. Their tombs were at Gogi, and fortifications and tanks, and such works of utility, seem to have absorbed the surplus revenue available for building purposes. It is not therefore till we come to the fifth king of the dynasty, Ali Adil Shah (1557), that we really enter on the great building epoch of the city; all the great monuments being crowded into the 100 years that remained before the wars of Aurungzeeb put an end to the glory of Beejapoor.

The deficiency thus caused in the history of the Mahomedan style in the Deccan might easily be supplied if some one would examine and photograph the earlier capitals of the Bahmuny dynasty. Kalbergah was their capital, nearly a century and a-half before the Adil Shahies established themselves at Beejapoor; and Beeder was a magnificent city before Ali Adil Shah began the adornment of his capital. Yet we hardly know now whether there are any monuments in Kalbergah worthy of notice. In Beeder we know only of a Madrissa, founded in 1460, which, before it was destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder, was one of the most magnificent buildings in the country; and we only know of the Tombs at Gogi by name.

When these are illustrated, we shall be able to trace the rise and progress of the style with a far firmer hand than at present; but it will not be till the later tombs of the Kootub Shahy dynasty at Golcondah (1512-1675) are also illustrated that we shall be able to complete the history by tracing its decline and fall.*

When all this is done, a complete history of the style of architecture practised by the Mahomedans in the Deccan will prove as interesting a chapter as any in the annals of their arts. Till it is done the description of the monuments of Beejapoor, though full of interest in itself, must remain only a disjointed fragment of a great subject.

* It is to be hoped that any one who may undertake to photograph the still unillustrated monuments of the Deccan will not neglect to make plans of the buildings. However rough or imperfect these may be, they are invaluable in rendering the form of the building and the position of the views intelligible to those who are not familiar with the locality.

From the circumstance above pointed out of the early kings of the Adil Shahy dynasty being too much occupied by wars and works of public utility to attend to the more artistic development of the art, it happens that the only monument of Mahomedan architecture illustrated in this work, which belongs to either of the two first reigns of the dynasty, is the little Mosque of Yoosuf (Pl. 5), built by the second king, Ismail, after the death of him whose name it bears. It is a pleasing specimen of the style, simple and elegant, but by no means remarkable for its richness or dimensions. It is such a mosque, in fact, as might be found in any second class city of India, and will only be interesting in the series when we are able to compare it with the earlier monuments of the same class at Kalberga or Beeder, with which it forms a link in the chain.

The Mehturee Mahal, which comes next in our series (Pl. 6 to 16), and represents the architecture of the reign of Ibrahim I, is in certain respects the most remarkable building of the city. It is, however, one of the smallest, measuring, exclusive of projections, only 24 feet each way, with a height of 66 feet to the top of the minarets; but what it wants in dimension is amply supplied by the exuberance of the ornamentation and the beauty of its details throughout.

As it now stands it is only a fragment of an unfinished design—a festal portal leading to a garden inclosing a small mosque, which, there is every reason to believe, was intended to contain also the tomb of the founder, though no material trace of such an intention is now apparent above ground.

To the student of architecture the peculiarity in the building which is most interesting is the essentially wooden character of the decoration. We are not surprised to find wooden forms copied in stone in the early caves of the Buddhists about the Christian era, because we know that no stone architecture existed in India till the Greeks taught them the use of the more durable material. But it is rather startling to find, some fifteen centuries afterwards, a recurrence to the same principle. The balconies with their hoods, and the brackets which support these, are the principal ornaments in the four faces of this little monument, yet every part of their construction, every detail of their ornament, is evidently copied from a wooden original. We find the same balconies used at the present day; and in any city between Benares and Boorhanpoor similar objects might be found with almost identical details, but always constructed in wood. From the remains of Hindoo temples we know that stone architecture did exist in the Deccan for centuries before Beejapoor was founded. It is clear, however, that the Moslems could have had very little experience in building in stone when this work was undertaken, and as little knowledge of their own style as then practised at Agra and Dehli. They must also have been actuated by a wonderful aversion to anything savouring of Hinduism, when they designed a building so original as this, and one so manifestly unlike anything to be found in the country in which they had settled.

Though it is difficult not to feel the want of appropriateness to stone architecture in the details of the Mehturee Mahal, it is impossible not to be struck with their extreme delicacy of finish, and the general beauty of their forms. All these, however, will be better understood by a study of the photographic reductions of Mr. Cummings' beautiful drawings than from any description. The most beautiful detail, because the least inappropriate, is perhaps the balustrade that surmounts the building (Pl. 7 to 13), though, if they were not so essentially wooden in form, the struts that support the hoods over the windows would be equally worthy of admiration.

The same remarks apply to the interior—the flat panneled ceilings, the brackets that support them, the style of their ornament, all recall forms familiar to the eastern traveller; but forms elsewhere always used in wood. Here, fortunately, they are perpetuated in stone; and for minute elegance of finish and beauty of drawing, are quite equal, if not indeed superior, to anything found at Cairo, or in any western style. The details of the Alhambra might almost be styled vulgar in comparison.

The Tomb of Ali Adil Shah (Pl. 17) is so splendid a ruin that it is to be regretted that both plan-drawers and photographers have to a great extent passed it over. In plan it is, as nearly as may be, three times the extent of the Ibrahim Rôza, the most splendid of Beejapoor tombs (200 feet square as compared with 116 feet); and from its age and what we can see of its details, it would be very interesting to know how it was intended to carry out so vast a design. If it was proposed to cover the central apartment by a dome, that could not have been less in size than the Gol Goomuz itself, the largest of Mahomedan examples. It is unfinished, however, like too many tombs in the east, and as must too often be the case where kings undertake the erection of their own sepulchres. The Egyptians, with their usual practical sense, seem alone, among

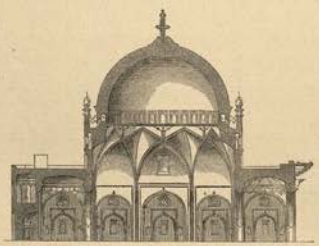
the tomb-building races, to have solved the problem. In that country the king went on adding chamber to chamber, burrowing deeper and deeper into the hill side, till death arrested his career and the progress of his last resting-place. But the tomb was complete with the first chambers; the extension merely shadowed forth the length of his reign and splendour of his kingdom.

With a structural building this is not so easy. A tomb must be square or polygonal in plan. It must be set out symmetrically around a central point. If on too large a scale to be finished before the king's death, like this one of Ali Adil Shah, he leaves only a ruin. If on too small a scale, and he is blessed with prosperity and length of days, he can only add ornament to the first design, and his tomb can hardly be said worthily to represent the reign it is designed to commemorate.

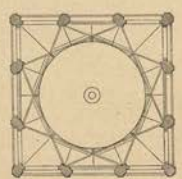
The Jumma Musjid (Pl. 18 to 29), which was commenced by the same monarch, was designed on the same scale of magnificence as his tomb; but there is this fortunate difference between the two buildings, a private mosque or a tomb is the property of an individual, and if he does not finish them, no one else will continue their erection, while a public mosque belongs to the State, and may progress through several reigns. And so it was with this one, though, notwithstanding this, it remains incomplete to this day.

The dimensions of the principal apartment of the building in plan, are 257 feet north and south, and 145 in depth, covering consequently more than 37,000 feet, or about the size of a small mediæval cathedral; but to this must be added the wings, which project 186 feet further, and make up a square of 331 feet by 257 feet; and had the whole been completed, the area, under roof, would have been about equal to that of one of our largest churches.

The most beautiful feature, architecturally, of this building is the central dome, which, though less than half the diameter of that covering the tomb of Mahmood (Pl. 63 and 64), being only 57 feet as compared with 124 feet, is still so elegant in itself that it cannot be passed over. It is also the first example we meet with of that form of pendentive which is, so far as is now known, peculiar to Beejapoor, and is perhaps the happiest thought in dome building which has yet come to light. No doubt if our knowledge was more complete we should be able to trace backwards the steps by which this form was perfected; but as our information now stands, this is the earliest example known, and though not the largest, probably the most perfect.



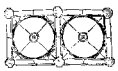
Section through Dome of Jumma Musjid.
Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.



Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

As will be seen from the plan (see page 69), the whole building is divided in forty-five equal squares, each 27 feet 9 inches; twelve of these are occupied by the central dome. Allowing for the thickness of the piers, these form a square space 75 feet each way. At the points of support, this is converted into an octagon by a very complex arrangement of the principal piers. In all other Saracenic or Byzantine domes these lines would be carried up, and the octagon at the springing of the dome would be 75 feet across, as on the ground; but at Beejapoor the space is further contracted by inscribing in it two squares resting on the alternate piers of the octagon. These, by their intersection, form an inner octagon, 55 feet in diameter, whose angles are opposite the centre of the sides of the larger octagon. By this means, as shown in the annexed woodcuts, an enormous mass of masonry is hung as a bracket inside the square to be covered by the dome. The tendency of this mass must be to fall inwards, if it were not counteracted by the circular gallery, which, being built with voussoirs, like the arch of a culvert, prevents the possibility of this taking place. By this contrivance the tendency of the dome to spread at the base and to thrust the walls outwards is entirely counteracted. In western domes—as in the Pantheon at Rome—the object is accomplished by heaping a mass of masonry in the haunches of the dome externally, to the utter destruction of the beauty of its form. Here it is far more beautifully and scientifically attained by hanging, as it were, the necessary weight inside.

In the smaller domes the octagon is obtained by the usual plan of merely cutting off the angles of the square; and on this a dome of an unusually flat section is placed, so flat that it is not seen externally, the whole being imbedded in concrete, and forming a terrace of singularly solid construction.



Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.

The Tomb of Ibrahim, commonly called the Ibrahim Rôza, which comes next in the series of royal buildings in Beejapoor, is more remarkable for the profusion and richness of its ornamental details than for either its dimensions or the elegance and propriety of its general form. Warned, apparently, by the fate of his predecessor Ali, Ibrahim commenced his sepulchre on very moderate dimensions; but as he lived long and prosperously afterwards, he tried to remedy this fundamental mistake by covering every part with the most exuberant ornament, much of which, it must be admitted, is in somewhat questionable taste. But here again we are met by the fact that the cornices, which form the richest part of the external decorations, are copied from wooden originals; not so directly as in the Mehturee Mahal, but still they are such forms as could not be invented in stone, nor would be used where lithic architecture had long been practised.

In this building we are introduced for the first time to a new feature in Mahomedan architecture by the introduction of a tall dome employed as an external ornament, wholly irrespective of the internal arrangement (Pl. 36). It is by no means clear when this false roof was first introduced, but it was afterwards employed in the Taje Mahal at Agra, and became fashionable with the bulbous form of dome both in India and Persia. Though open to the reproach of being an architectural falsehood, it is perhaps after all the best solution possible of a problem which has perplexed the designers of domes from the earliest times. The Pantheon at Rome, St. Sophia at Constantinople, and generally all the earliest and the best Byzantine domes, fail in effect externally exactly in proportion to their success internally. Their builders, perhaps in defiance of the practice of the heathens, thought the interior the more important part of their edifices, and took no pains to render the external forms of their buildings beautiful. When the Renaissance architects in the fifteenth century attempted the problem, they tried to emulate the tall forms of Gothic architecture, and ran into the opposite extreme. In St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Geneviève, &c, beauty of external form is what their architects were aiming at. The interior is made too lofty for its other dimensions, and thus becomes generally very destructive of the proper proportions of the rest of the building. The Saracenic architects in Egypt, Persia and India, came nearer to a happy proportion between these two elements than was ever accomplished in Europe; but still it is not clear whether the mode of cutting the Gordian knot, as was done by the architect of Ibrahim at Beejapoor, is not the best mode of procedure. Use is not the primary object of such a building as this, and it surely is as legitimate to make the external design to this extent independent of the interior as it is to add a steeple to a Gothic church.

What is perhaps most remarkable in this instance is the immense pains the architect has taken in converting the square into an octagon in the upper room, and then the octagon into a figure of thirty-two sides, before he commenced the drum of his dome (see Plate 36). This again is ornamented with thirty-two arches, and the whole finished with the utmost care. Yet the apartment is quite dark, having no external windows, and is only approached by stairs in the thickness of the walls; nor does it appear that it was intended for any useful purpose connected with the sepulchre.

The flat roof that separates this chamber from the principal apartment of the tomb is as remarkable as any other part of this building. The tomb chamber is 40 feet square. At the height of 24 feet a coved ceiling commences, projecting about 10 feet all round, and leaving a flat space of 20 feet square in the centre, which is covered by a roof formed of small stones placed side by side without any appearance of arch construction about them. Nine builders out of ten will tell you that it is impossible such a form should stand; but there are numberless instances in India besides this one to prove that the usual theory is here at fault. Nor is it difficult to see why it should be so. The whole roof is in fact a slab of concrete 50 feet square and 6 feet thick, supported for 15 feet all round on the walls and cove, and free only in the centre. It is too heavily weighted on the outer edges to spread, and it consequently cannot break in the centre, unless it were compressible on its upper surface, which of course it is not.

The façade of the Mosque (Pl. 33), which is of the same dimensions as the Tomb, 116 feet, is in itself

perhaps a more pleasing composition than the sepulchre, the arches being simpler and grander in design and more appropriately ornamented. The mosque has, however, only one ornamental façade, while the tomb has four. The interior of the sepulchre is also infinitely richer and more varied, and its external dome far grander. The two must, however, be taken together as parts of one composition; and with their gateways, their terraces and external colonnades, they make up a group of gorgeous, but it must be confessed somewhat barbaric, splendour, that it would be difficult to match in any part of the world.

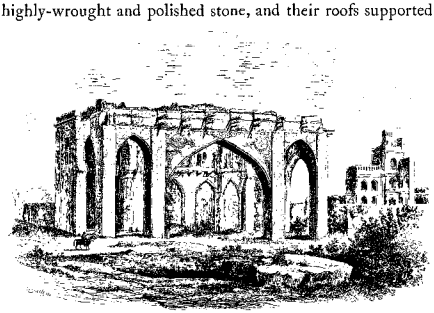
THE ASHAR MOBARAK is a singularly interesting example in the series, not only on account of its own intrinsic beauty as a hall of audience, for which it was originally designed; but more so on account of its being a living specimen of their wooden architecture, whose pre-existence we have been made aware of from the details of the Mehturee Mahal and the Ibrahim Rôza. We are instantly struck with the constructive propriety of the great wooden brackets which project in every direction from the capitals of the great pillars of the verandah of this building, though it requires an effort to reconcile the mind to the same form when used in stone in the earlier buildings. The deep bracket with two little brackets at right angles with it at its outer edge, which is here used with such good effect in wood, is seen in stone as clear as anywhere else in the contemporary mosque of Yakoot Dabooli (Plate 46). In both the gateway (Plate 45) and mosque of this building these little brackets are joined so as to form a fringe, as it were, to the cornice, with the very best effect. In the Ibrahim Rôza, the cross pieces being recessed, a patched and confused effect is produced, which is far from pleasing. It must not, however, be assumed that this form of bracket is the exclusive property of the Beejapoor architects. Something very like it is found as far north as Muttra, and in other cities in Hindostan; but there it is exceptional, and very sparingly used. In Beejapoor it is the rule, and the most typical characteristic of their style.

For the purpose of understanding the domestic or palatial architecture of Beejapoor, it is to be regretted that we have no plan of any of the buildings within the citadel. The task that Mr. Cumming seems to have proposed to himself, or rather which he was set to perform, was to illustrate exhaustively the six most typical buildings of the city; and that he has done in a manner superior to any illustration of any other ancient buildings in India. In consequence, however, of this limitation, we have no plans, or even dimensions, of any of the seven mehals, or palaces, in the citadel, and the photographs in the collection, as well as those elsewhere available, are not sufficient to render them intelligible. A simple ground-plan would suffice, and might have been obtained without much difficulty.

THE SATH KHUNDI (Plate 58), or Seven-storied Palace, is one of the most interesting of these, and though a good deal ruined, enough remains to render its plan and appearance intelligible. Like all the palaces in the citadel, it depends on stucco, covered with gilding and colour, for its ornamentation; and in this respect it would be interesting to be able to compare it with the Alhambra and other known examples: from what we do know it would not lose by the comparison.

Another point of interest in this palace is, that in most of the great cities of antiquity, from Rome to Pekin, we have seven-storied palaces—Septizonia—it having certain points of similarity which it is hardly possible to ascribe to accident. The form seems to have arisen in Babylonia, but it is difficult, almost impossible, to trace the connection between them with anything like certainty till all are drawn and measured.

The public and private audience halls, with their accompaniments, exist here as in all eastern palaces, but differ in many essential respects from those of Agra or Dehli. In the northern capitals they are of marble or highly-wrought and polished stone, and their roofs supported by numerous pillars bearing arches. At Beejapoor that daring style of mechanical construction which led to the erection of the Tomb of Mahmood (Plates 60 to 67) seems to have been the guiding idea in the design of these palaces. The great hall of audience, for instance, as shown in the annexed woodcut, opens in front with an arch 92 feet span, supported on either side by two smaller ones, which seem hardly massive enough for the purposes to which they are applied. Time has, however, proved them to be sufficient, though they make up together perhaps as bold a piece of

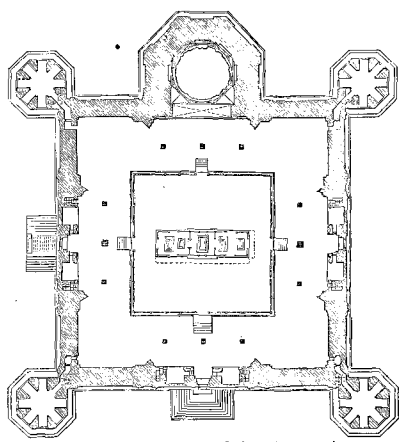


HALL OF AUDIENCE IN THE CITADEL.

construction as ever was attempted of its class. The sloping cornice which crowned the façade was supported by wooden brackets, some of which still stick in the mortices where they were originally placed, but the covering roof has fallen away. It, too, probably was constructed in wood, but may have been protected with metal on its upper surface, and consequently sufficiently valuable to tempt the rapacity of the Mahrattas.

Although none of the other mehals in the fort have any features of such daring boldness as the arch of this audience hall, their designs are generally more varied and better balanced, so that, though not so astonishing, they are certainly more beautiful, and better examples of architectural design. Some of these may be distinguished in the general view (Plate 1), and one especially, called the Sonèri Mahal, seems quite worthy of the situation it occupies. Except at Agra and Dehli, there are probably few structures of its class in India, which surpass it either in dimensions or in beauty of design.

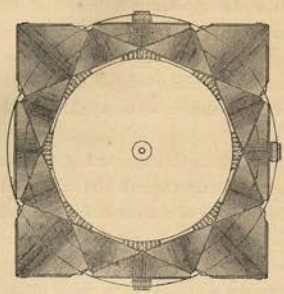
THE TOMB OF MAHMOOD (Plates 60 to 67), or, as it is more popularly called, the GOL GOOMUZ, literally, the round dome, is the most remarkable building in the city; in some respects, one of the most remarkable tombs known to exist anywhere. The first thing that strikes any one on examining this building is the wonderful contrast it forms with that of his predecessor, Ibrahim, and if it were not that throughout the whole period of its greatness, the architecture of Beejapoor was in so tentative and inchoate a state, it would be difficult to understand how two buildings designed on such opposite principles came to be erected in the same city within so short a period of time. In the Ibrahim Rôza every constructive necessity is made to bend so completely to the artistic exigencies of the design, that it might have been erected either in stone, wood, or metal. The aim of its designer was distinct and clear throughout. He desired to erect the most elaborately-ornamented building he could produce, and disdained to be trammeled by any difficulties of construction, and these the dimensions he was working with enabled him to despise. The designer of the Gol Goomuz, on the other hand, aimed at producing the most mechanically imposing erection which he was capable of conceiving. Ornament was sparingly applied, and is always kept entirely subordinate to the constructive exigencies of the building. He proposed to himself to surpass all other tombs in mechanical grandeur, just as the designer of the Rôza had wished to excel in artistic ornamentation. As in most cases, there is probably a happy mean between the two systems, which might have led to a combination of construction and ornament more happy than either; but as they stand, the palm of merit, as an architectural design, most probably belongs to the tomb of Mahmood.



GOL GOOMUZ. GROUND PLAN. *Scale. 50 feet to 1 inch.*

Although to the superficial observer the similarity is not at first sight very apparent, it still is the fact that the building most resembling the Gol Goomuz is the Pantheon at Rome, which hitherto has been considered the largest single apartment covered by a dome known to exist. The Pantheon is a circular building, the diameter of which is 142 feet, its area, consequently, under 16,000 feet (15,833). The tomb of Mahmood is square, each side being 135 feet, its area, therefore, is 18,225 feet, or more than one-eighth in excess. The construction of the Roman dome on a circular drum is simple and easy. That of the Indian tomb, having to be worked up from a square, was one of the most difficult problems that could be proposed to an architect. The mode by which it was accomplished was identical with that used in constructing the dome of the Jumma Musjid, which has already been explained; but it must be regretted that the architect did not carry the design a step further, and divide the inner octagon into a figure of thirty-two sides, as had been done in the Ibrahim Rôza. If pleasing on a small scale, the sub-divisions would have been infinitely more so in the larger building; but the architect seemed to think that severe simplicity was the proper mode of producing the effect he desired, and he preferred astonishing the spectator, by showing how difficulties might be conquered, rather

than pleasing him by showing how graceful his forms might be made. Owing to the mode of construction adopted, the mass of masonry hung inside the building, represented in plan in the annexed woodcut, is more than sufficient to counteract any tendency to thrust outward which might exist in the dome itself. Looking at the section of the dome (Plates 63 and 64), however, the mass of masonry on the crown is so great—so much greater than there is any necessity for,—that it might be expected that the dome would rise in its haunches, and be in danger of splitting half-way between its starting-point and its apex. The truth, however, is that the domical form is constructively so true and so simple, that it is difficult to do wrong in using it. This the Eastern architects early found out, and they, consequently, played with difficulties before which their western brethren tremble and which they dare not attempt.



GOL GOOMUZ.

PLAN SHOWING CONSTRUCTION OF THE PENDENTIVES OF DOME.

The following table will assist the reader in estimating the mechanical excellence of the Gol Goomuz as compared with other celebrated examples.

	Form at Base.	Internal Diameter. feet.	Height Internally. feet.
The Pantheon at Rome	Round	142	146
St. Peter's at Rome	Round	137	333
St. Maria, Florence	Octagon	137	275
St. Paul's, London	Round	108	220
St. Sophia, Constantinople	Square	107	182
Mosque of Suleiman, Constantinople	Square	87	155
Taje Mahal, Agra	Octagon	58	80
Gol Goomuz, Beejapoor	Square	135	175

Considering, therefore, the pendentives as a part of the domical roof—which they certainly are,—the dome at Beejapoor is the largest of these, though the circular part is only 124 feet in diameter, and it is also, perhaps, of all these the one in which the height is most pleasingly proportioned to the width of the apartment it covers. Its greatest defect is, perhaps, its want of elevation externally. It is infinitely better in this respect than either the Pantheon or St. Sophia. But Eastern architects, as well as those of modern times in the West, have accustomed us to tall domes, and the eye resents the very sober proportions of this one. What it really wants is a circle of lights—a clerestory, in fact,—round its base, like that of the Jumma Musjid, as shown in the woodcut, page 88. Had it been raised to the extent that one is, and so pierced, the gloom, which is one of its defects internally, would have been obviated, and it would have attained that elevation externally which would have sufficed for effect. As the architects were attempting something greater than had before been accomplished in India, they were probably afraid of weakening the dome at its base by piercing it with thirty-two openings, which is the number there would have been required. With proper precautions, there is no doubt but that these fears would have proved to be unfounded, and had another sovereign lived, and wanted a tomb, these slight defects would no doubt have been remedied, and we might have seen a sepulchre surpassing this, as far as it excels in constructive excellence any other we are acquainted with in India, or, indeed, anywhere else.

The Small Tombs represented in the four Plates (Nos. 68 to 71) will serve to illustrate the forms which the designers of these buildings thought were more graceful and appropriate whenever they were untrammeled by constructive difficulties, and freed from any ambition to be surpassingly ornamental. There are hundreds such as these in the plains of the Deccan, and in all these the dome becomes what might be termed a steeple. In other words, an external ornament, irrespective of its use as an internal roof. Except in the last, entitled "Tombs of the Saints," it is neither extravagantly more offensively so, but perhaps hits the just medium between use and ornament, as nearly as has ever been done in a composition of this sort. The first, or tomb of the

Begum Sahib (Pl. 68), is perhaps the most graceful in design. The attic of sixteen sides, by which the dome is raised out of the square in which it stands, is a very happy expedient, and its form is singularly graceful and appropriate to a composition of this sort.

The octagonal form of the tomb of Khowas Khan (Pl. 70) prevents the necessity of the introduction of such an attic. But cutting off the angles makes the basement somewhat weak for the superstructure, which in appearance rather overpowers it. It may perhaps require more familiarity than the European eye can generally attain to enable the beauty of the form of the Indian bulbous dome to be appreciated; but when not carried to excess, it forms certainly one of the most pleasing sky lines ever introduced as a building expedient. The first object of its inventors was undoubtedly to obtain height. Whatever artifice may be used, a semicircular dome, or one of pointed form, is always low and unpleasing in perspective. To be appreciated it must be seen from a distance, or on the level of the eye. By stilting it this defect *is* remedied; and in small domes, and where the object of their construction is evidently not use but ornament, the system may be carried to very great lengths without offence. It may be a question, however, whether the dome of the Taje Mahal at Agra does not pass the boundaries of legitimate design. The tombs of the "Saints" (Plate 71), which are a very late example, certainly carry the system too far. Their architecture, however, scarcely belongs to the style of Beejapoor, but follows a form which was elaborated at Golcondah, and is seen on all the tombs of the kings of the Kootub Shahy dynasty. But with the exception of the so-called "Saints'" tombs, the domes at Beejapoor may be considered as well within the limits of sobriety, and as pleasing specimens of their class of design.

A view of the MOSQUE AT ADONI (Pl. 74) has been introduced immediately after that of the Mosque in the Fort,—the last of the true Beejapoor series,—not only on account of its own intrinsic beauty, but as illustrating a principle which runs through the whole history of the style. They are both buildings of the same age—that of Aurungzeeb. The Beejapoor example is an elegant but pure development of the style elaborated in that city, and without the introduction of any foreign element. The city of Adoni is situated in a district which, when the mosque was built, had only recently been acquired by the Mahomedans, and never thoroughly colonized by them. The mosque, consequently, though designed in outline precisely on the principles which prevailed in Beejapoor, betrays everywhere the hand of the Hindoo and the principles of his art. The minarets of the mosque, seen behind those of the gateway, are covered with panels, each of which contains a figure of very Hindoo form. The panels are filled with foliage of very exquisite design, but not of Saracenic form; and the stone chains which hang from the cornices and the balconies of the minarets betray the feeling everywhere so prevalent in Hindoo art that elaboration of ornament is more conducive to architectural effect than constructive skill or beauty of outline. Both elements are good in themselves, but perfection in architecture is only to be attained when they are combined together in a well-balanced composition, where each aids without interfering with the province of the other.

A view of the MOSQUE AT SERINGAPATAM (Pl. 76) has been added to the set, though not strictly belonging to the series, in order to illustrate the degradation to which the beautiful style of Deccanie art had fallen before it ceased to exist at the end of the last century. The building is still free from any admixture of Italian details, which could not have been the case at Lucknow, or any of the capitals further north. But all propriety of design is gone, either as regards its purposes as a mosque, or as an architectural composition combining agreeable form with appropriate details. It is easy to see that the form is suggested by one of the great "Gopuras," or gateways of the Hindoos, leading to an insignificant sanctuary; but it misses the meaning these parts have when applied to their legitimate purpose, without gaining any new effect any one would desire to see repeated.

Long before these Mahomedan dynasties perished before the tide of western invasion, the spirit of independence which made them capable of great things had passed away. The pride of conquest and the exultation which arose from their haughty position as trampling on the infidel, led them on and enabled them to erect those monuments which still command our admiration. But with Aurungzeeb the whole fabric of Mahomedan civilization perished like a house of cards just when the last crowning story had been added to the structure, and it fell so flat that, should a native revival ever take place in India, it is not from among the followers of the Prophet that it can be expected to arise. Their architecture has perished with them. We, strangers, may mourn lovingly over the glorious fragments that remain to us, but nothing now can revive what is dead and gone.

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PLATE I. GENERAL VIEW OF RUINS OF PALACES IN THE CITADEL.

PLATE II. PART OF THE WALLS OF THE CITADEL, WITH THE CHINCH DIDDI MOSQUE.

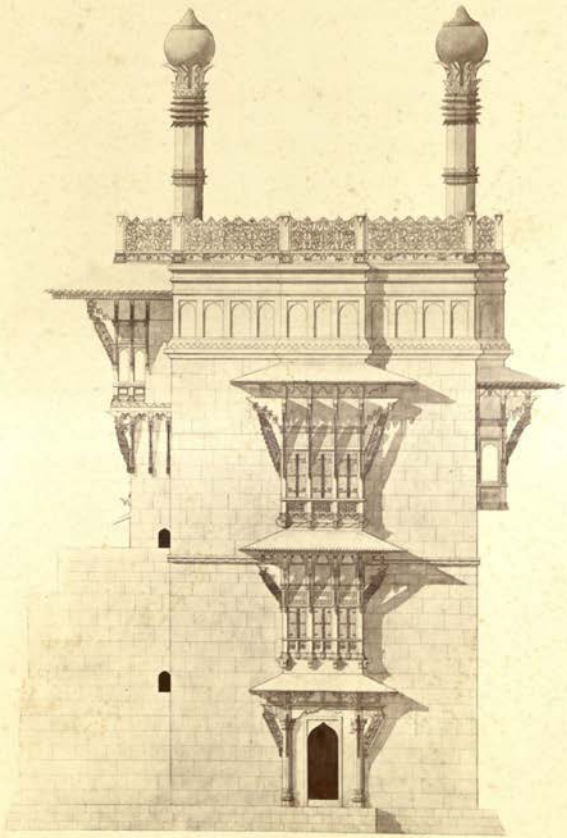
PLATE IV. ANCIENT MOSQUE IN THE CITADEL.

PLATE V. RUINS IN THE CITADEL, AND MOSQUE OF YOOSUF, TURK.

PLATE VI. THE MEHTUREE MAHAL. GENERAL VIEW.

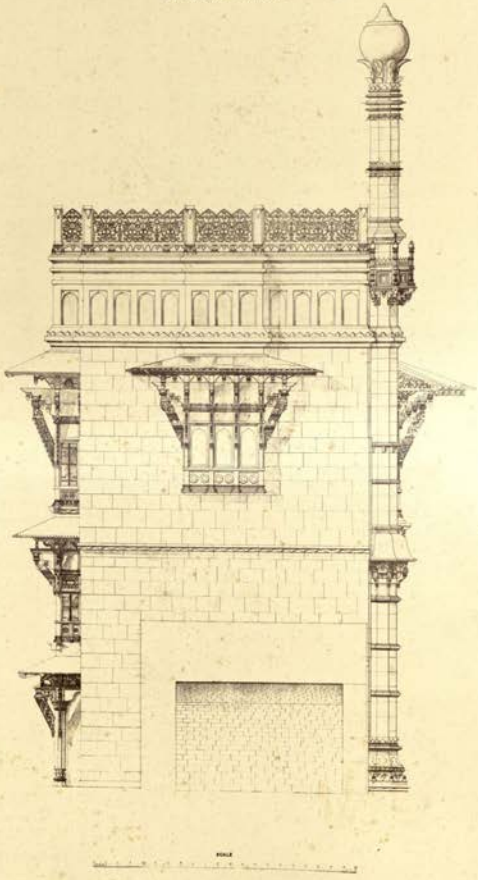
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

BACK ELEVATION



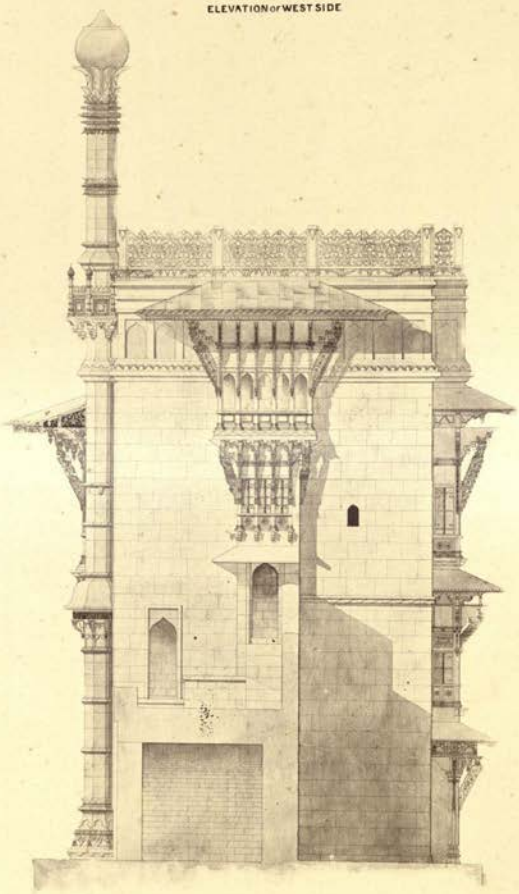
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MENTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ELEVATION OF THE EAST SIDE



PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

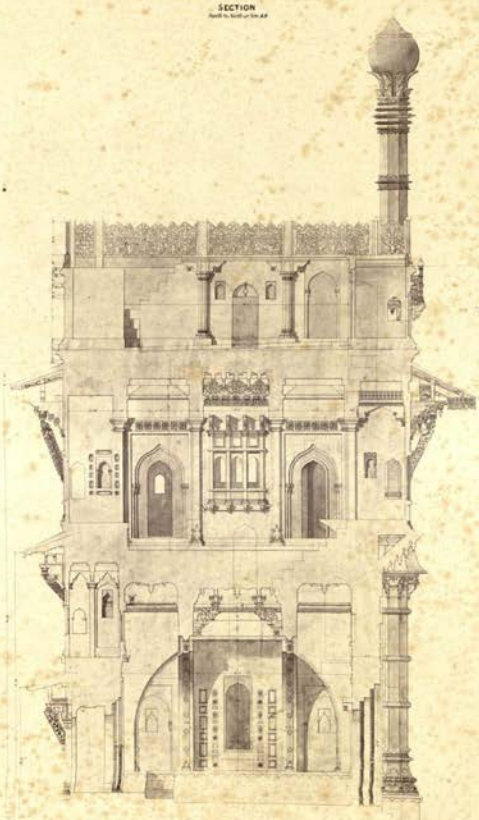
ELEVATION OF WEST SIDE



SCALE

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

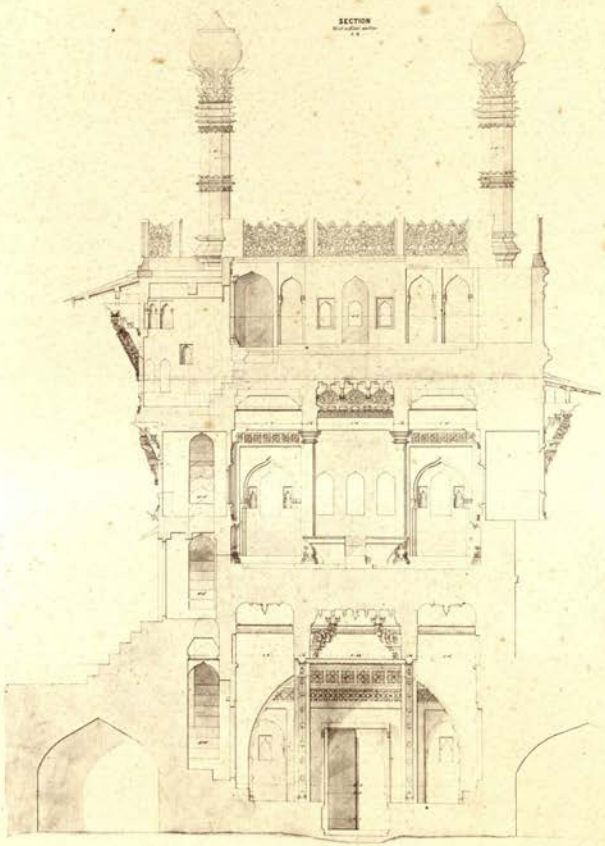
SECTION



SCALE

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SECTION

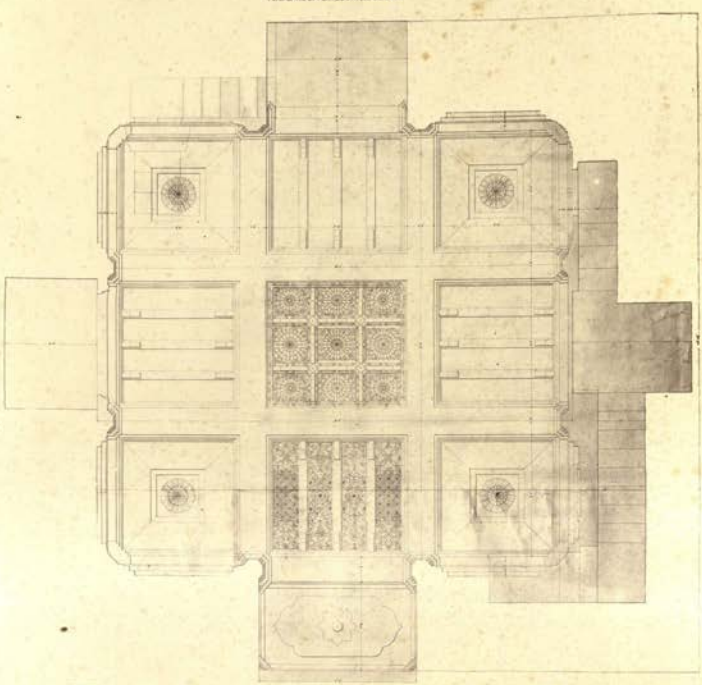


SCALE

PLATE XII.

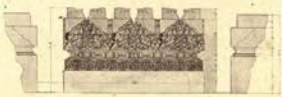
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

PLAN OF THE UPPER FLOOR AND CEILING

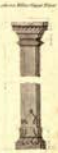


ENLARGED BRACKETS

ELEVATION OF CENTRE DIVISION OF CEILING



ENLARGED BRACKETS



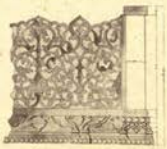
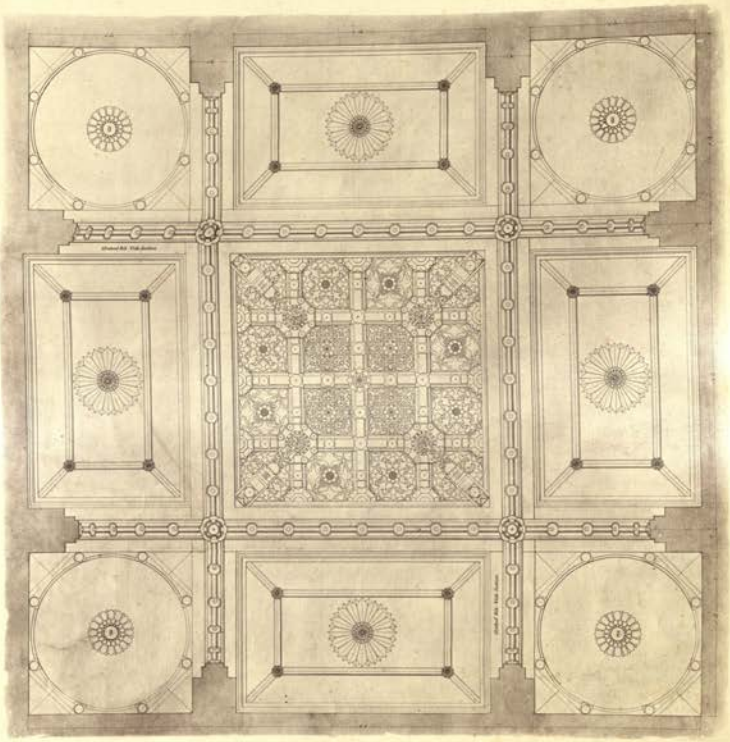


PLATE XIII.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ENLARGED DRAWING OF LOWER CEILING SHEWING
THE STONE RIBS SUPPORTING UPPER FLOOR



SCALE

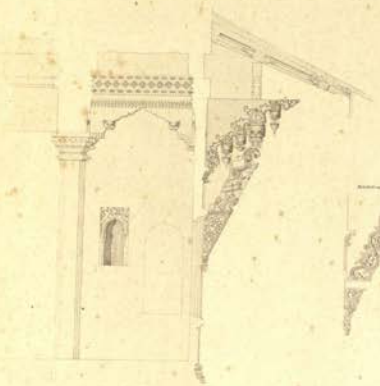
PLATE XIV.

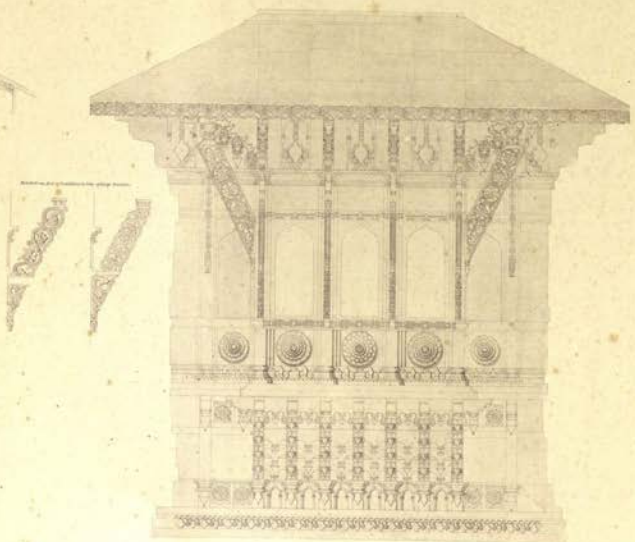
PLANS AND SECTIONS OF THE MEHTURSE MAHAL AT BEEJAPOOR

ENLARGED DRAWING OF FRONT WINDOW

SECTION

ELEVATION





SCALE

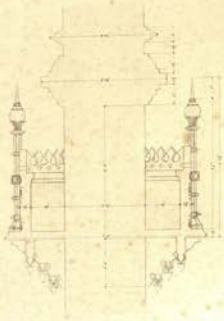
PLATE XV

10284?

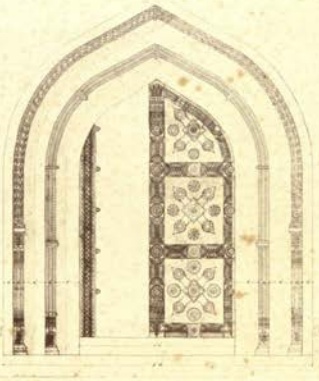
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
MEHTUREE MAHAL
AT
BEEJAPOOR

BRACKET PLACED DIAGONALLY IN ANGLE
AT JUNCTION OF RIBS IN LOWER CEILING

MINARET DETAILS

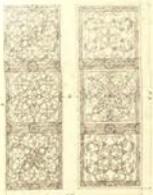


ELEVATION OF FRONT DOORWAY

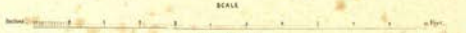


ELEVATION OF INNER SIDE BACK DOORWAY

PLAN of CEILING IN LOWER BACK WINDOW



SCALE



SCALE FOR BRACKET

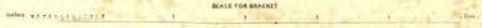


PLATE XVI.

PLATE XVII. UNFINISHED MAUSOLEUM OF ALI ADIL SHAH I.

PLATE XVIII. THE JUMMA MOSQUE, FROM THE COURTYARD.

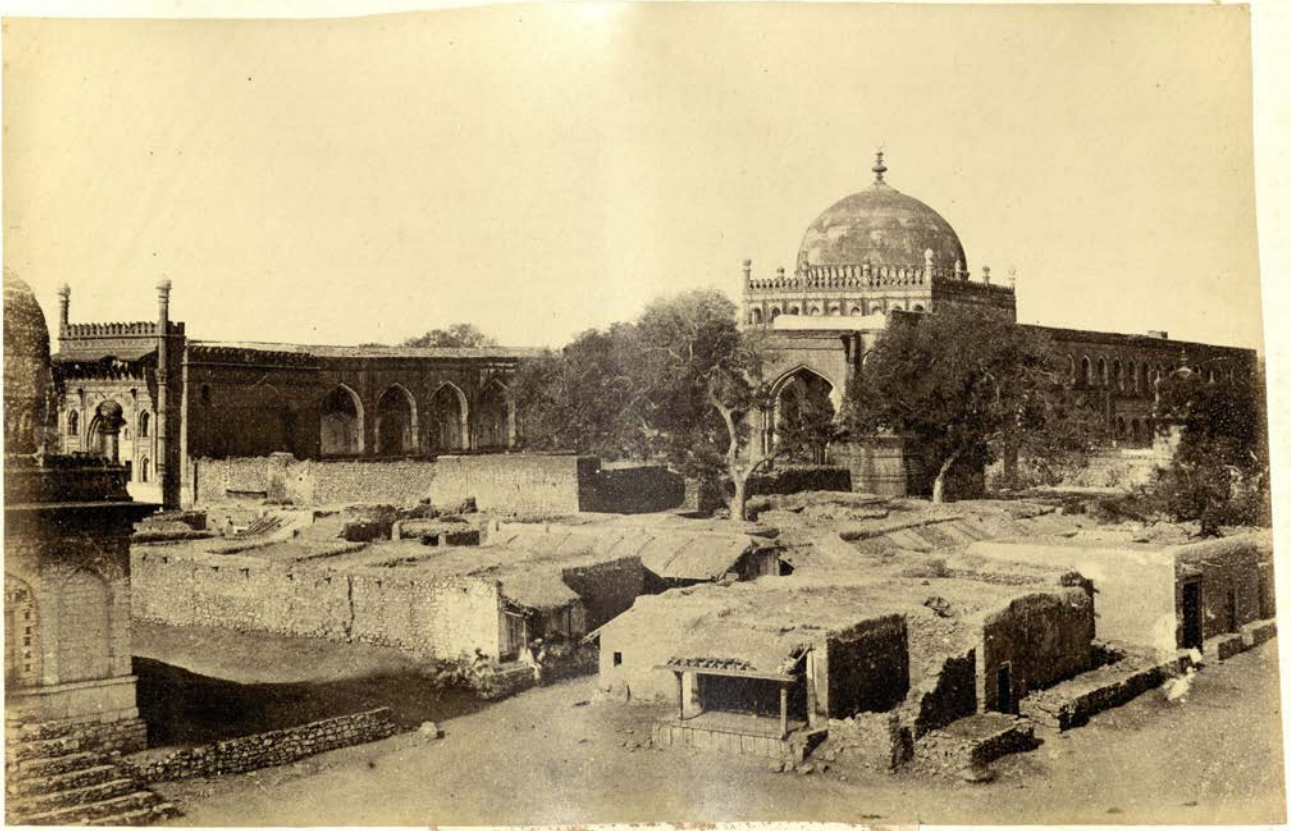


PLATE XIX. THE JUMMA MOSQUE. FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

FRONT ELEVATION

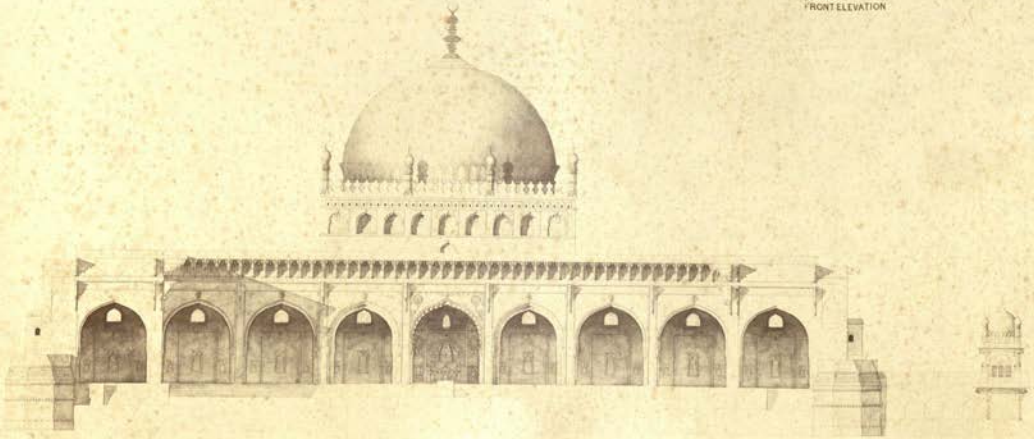


Plate XX.

PLANS AND SECTIONS

JUMMA MUSJEED

AT

BEEJAPOOR

BACK ELEVATION

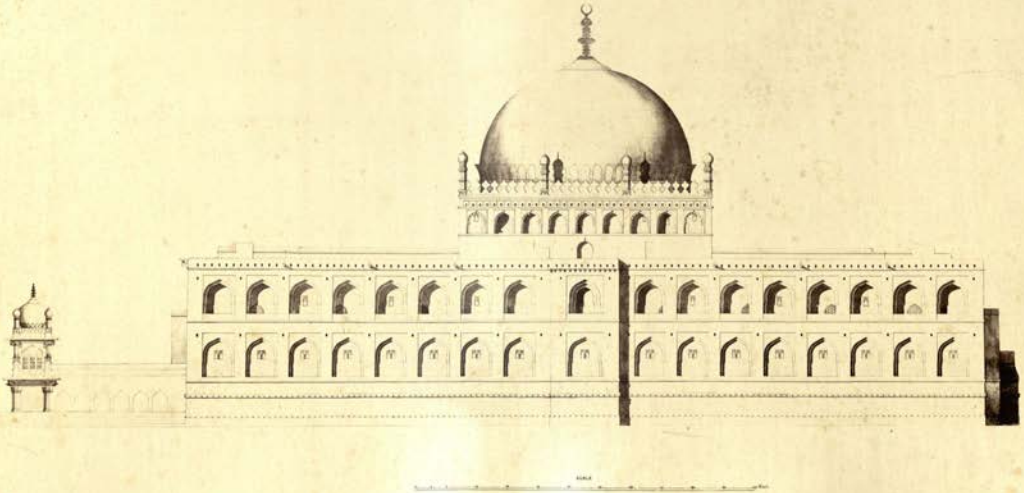


PLATE XXI.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ELEVATION OF NORTH SIDE

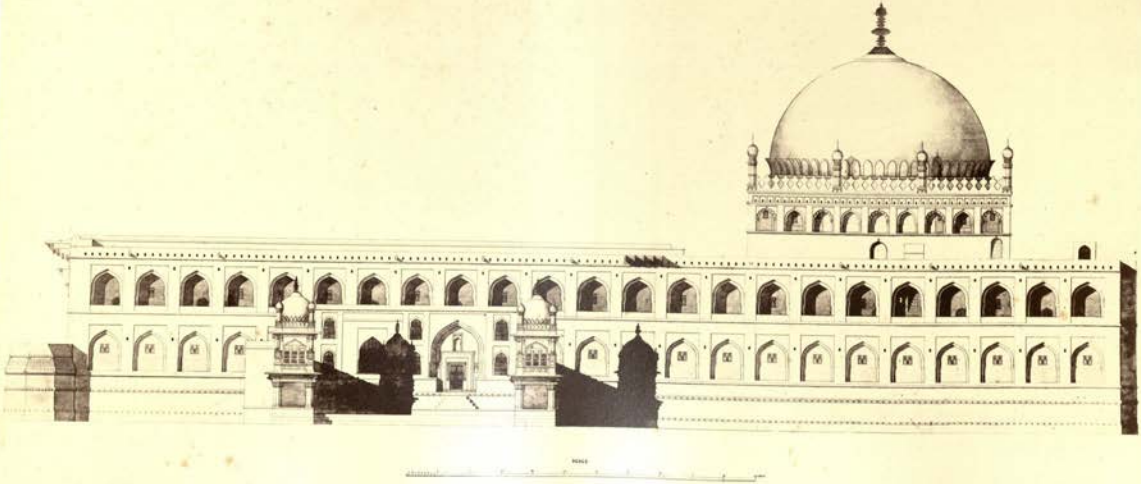


PLATE XII.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ELEVATION OF SOUTH SIDE.

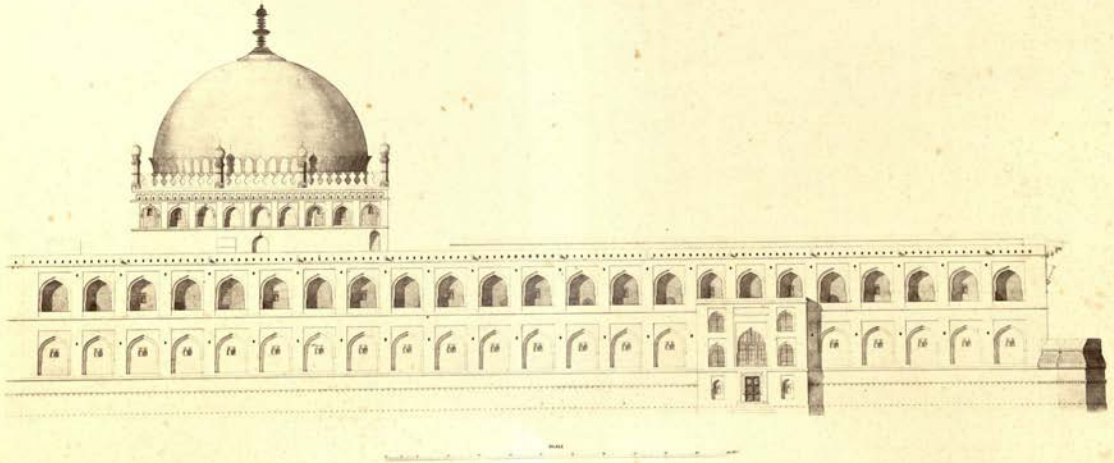
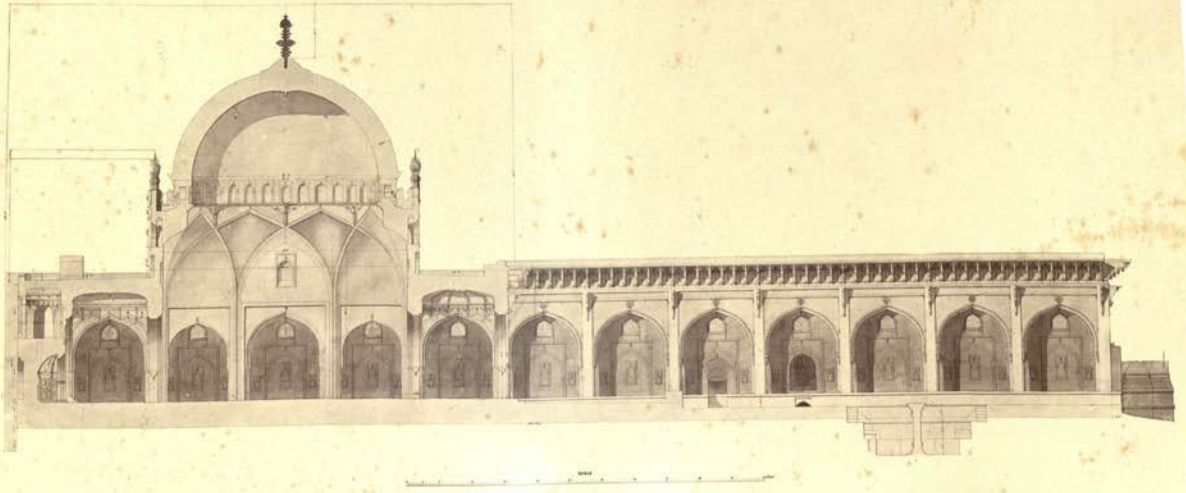


PLATE XXIII.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

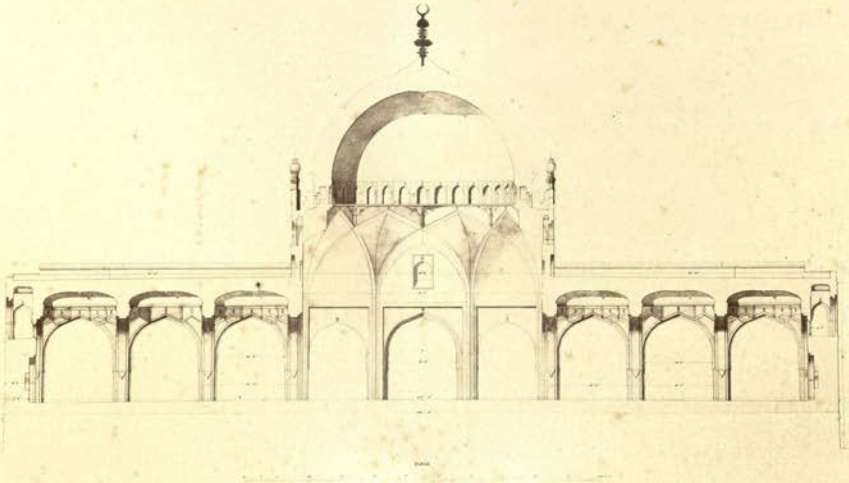
SECTION A B



PL. XXIV.

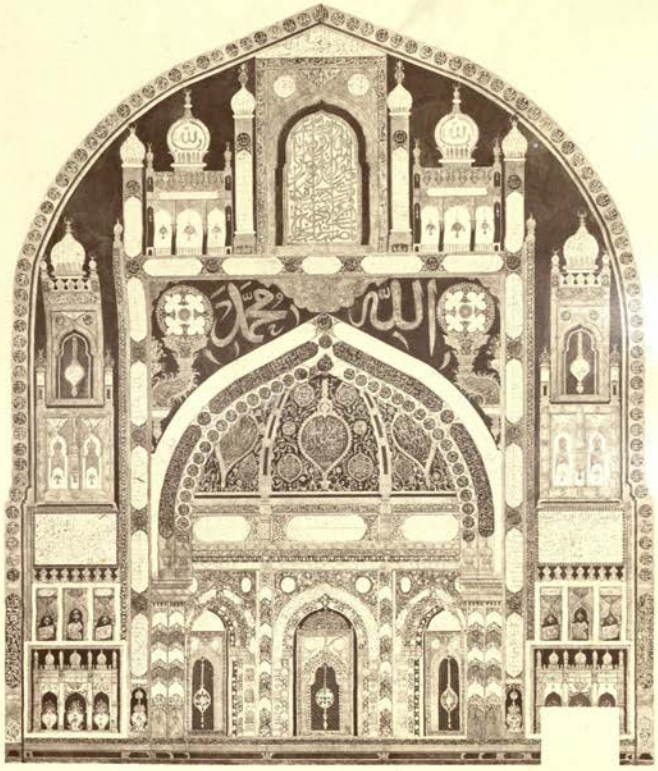
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SECTION C D



PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

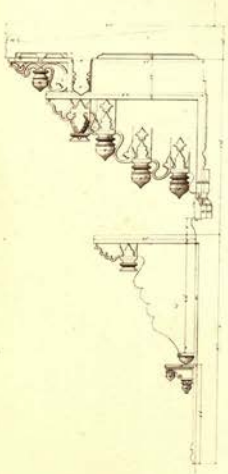
ELEVATION OF THE MEHRAB



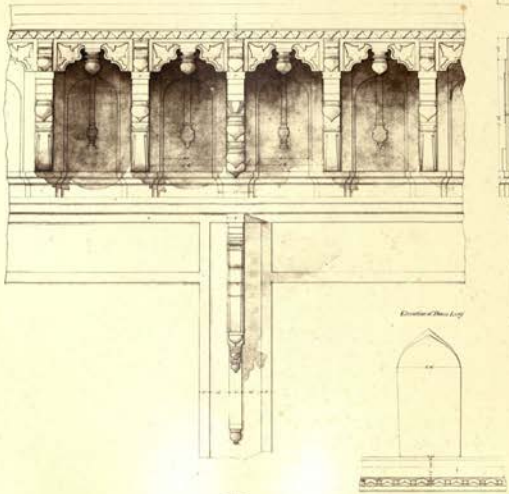
SCALE

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SIDE ELEVATION OF LARGE BRACKET



DETAIL DRAWING OF THE PRINCIPAL MOULDING



SIDE ELEVATION OF SMALL BRACKET

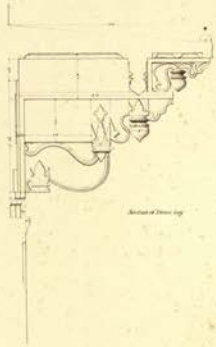


PLATE XXVII.

DETAILS

PLANS AND SECTIONS OF THE JUMMA MUSJEED AT BEEJAPOOR

ENLARGED DRAWING HALF CENTRE ARCH FRONT OF MOSQUE

ENLARGED DRAWING OF HALF ARCH NEXT CENTRE ARCH

Plan and the half arch that are colored alternately from the centre along the front and wings

CORNICE ROUND EXTERIOR OF MOSQUE

CORNICE ON VARIOUSLY SHAPED PARTS OF THE WINGS

IN CENTRE OF LOWER ARCHES ROUND THE EACH SIDE OF THE MOSQUE

IN CENTRE OF ALTERNATE ARCHES UPPER STOREY OF WING

CORNICE ROUND EXTERIOR OF MOSQUE

SECTION OF BALUSTRADE

ELEVATION OF MINARET ON CENTRE WITH BALUSTRADE & MOULDING

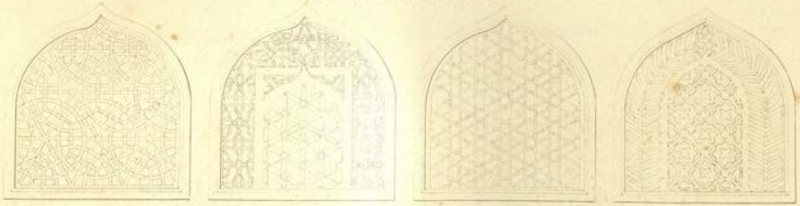
TWO IN EACH WALL ARCH OF THE INTERIOR OF MOSQUE & WINGS

SCALE

SCALE

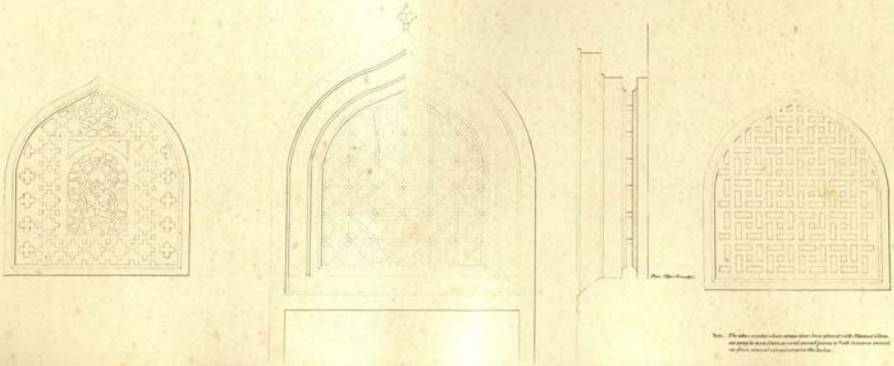
PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
JUMMA MUSJEED
AT
BEEJAPOOR

Enlarged Drawings of Perforated Stone Windows lighting the Masjid through the Verandah round the exterior with Sections



INNER ELEVATION of a WINDOW shewing THE CHUNAM FRAME

SECTION thro INTERIOR



Note :- The other window shown above has adhered with Chunam Ornaments in most places so as to render it impossible to take off a section of the same without injuring the whole...

Scale

PLATE XXIX.

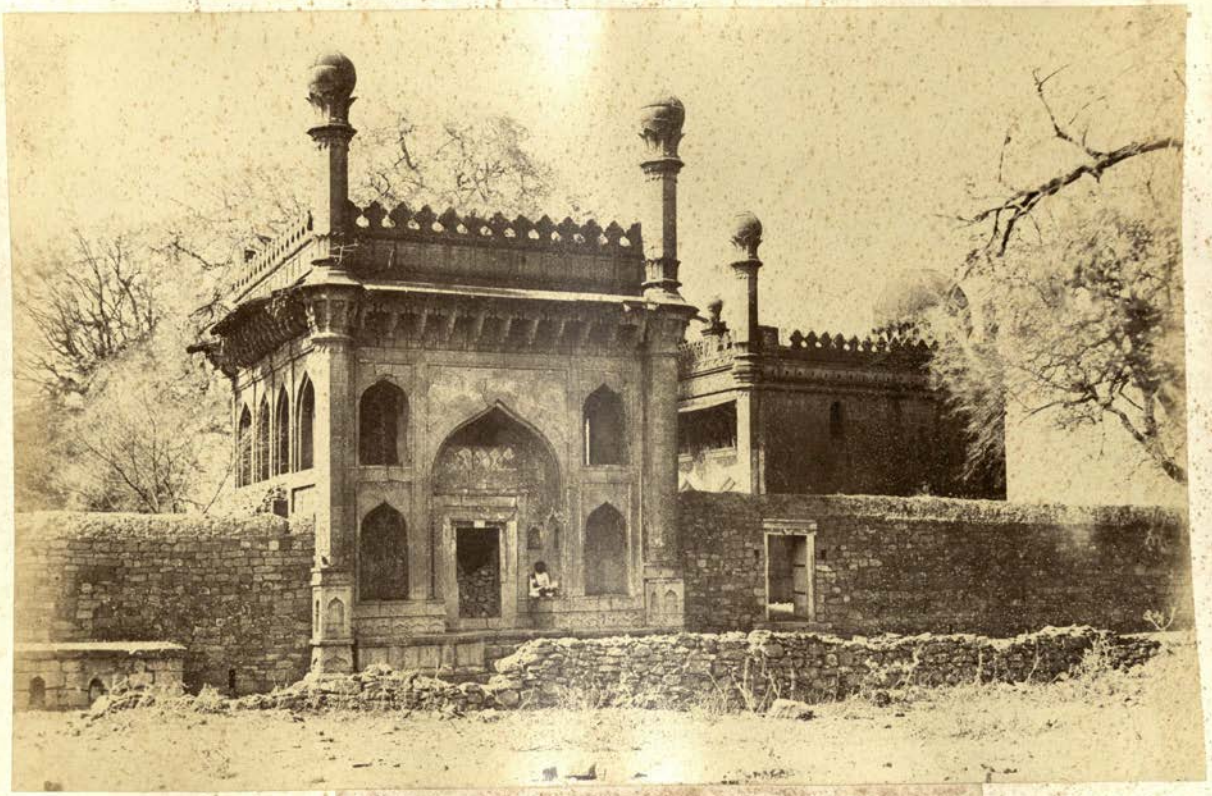


PLATE XXX. MOSQUE AND GATEWAY BUILT BY NAWAB MUSTAFA KHAN ARDISTANY.

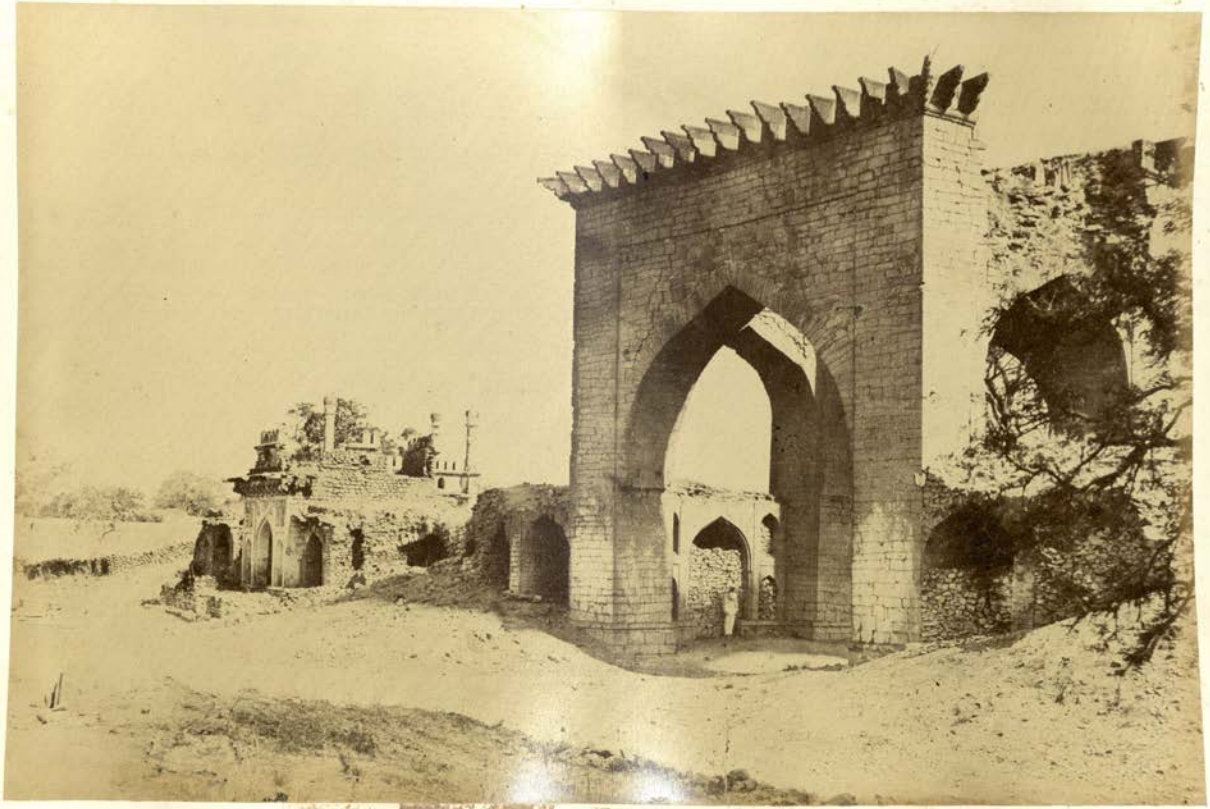


PLATE XXXI. GATEWAY FOR THE NUKAR KHANA OF NAWAB MUSTAFA KHAN'S PALACE.

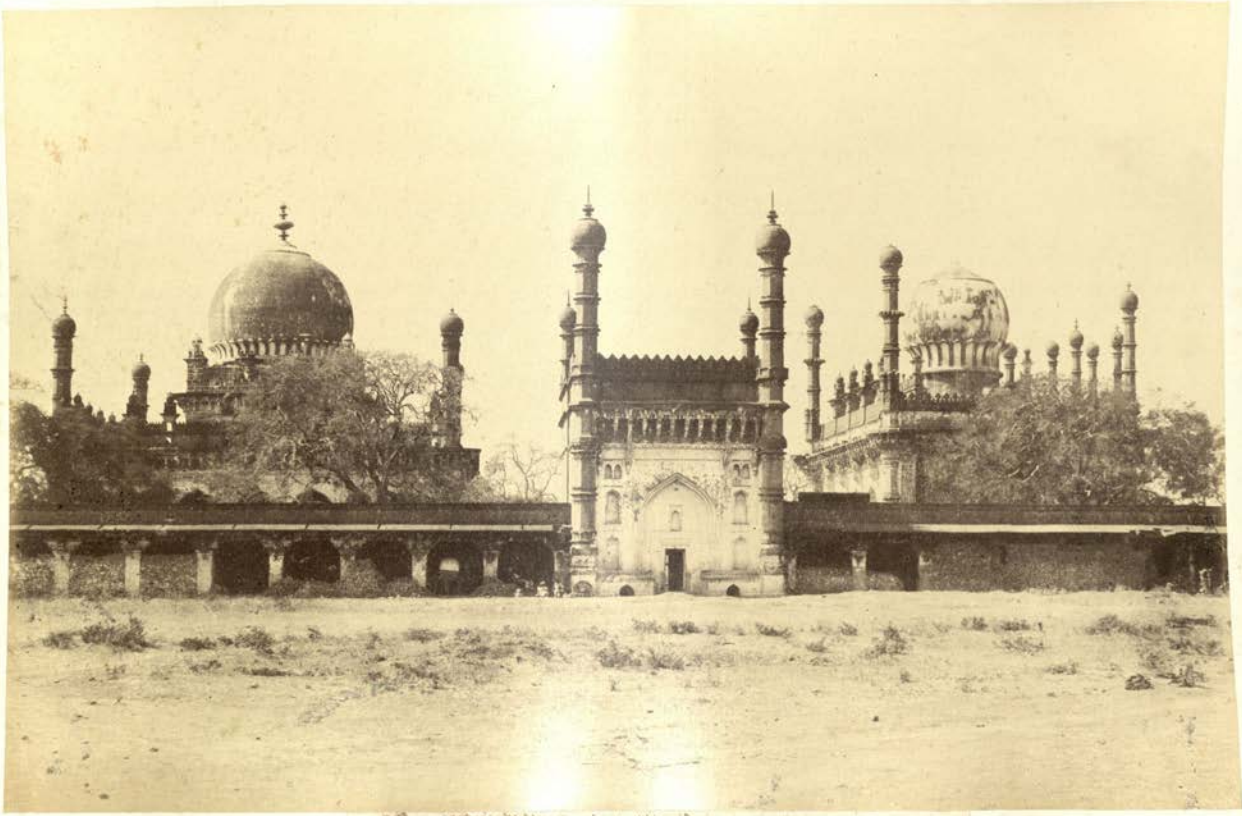


PLATE XXXII. GATEWAY, MAUSOLEUM, AND MOSQUE OF THE IBRAHIM RÔZA.

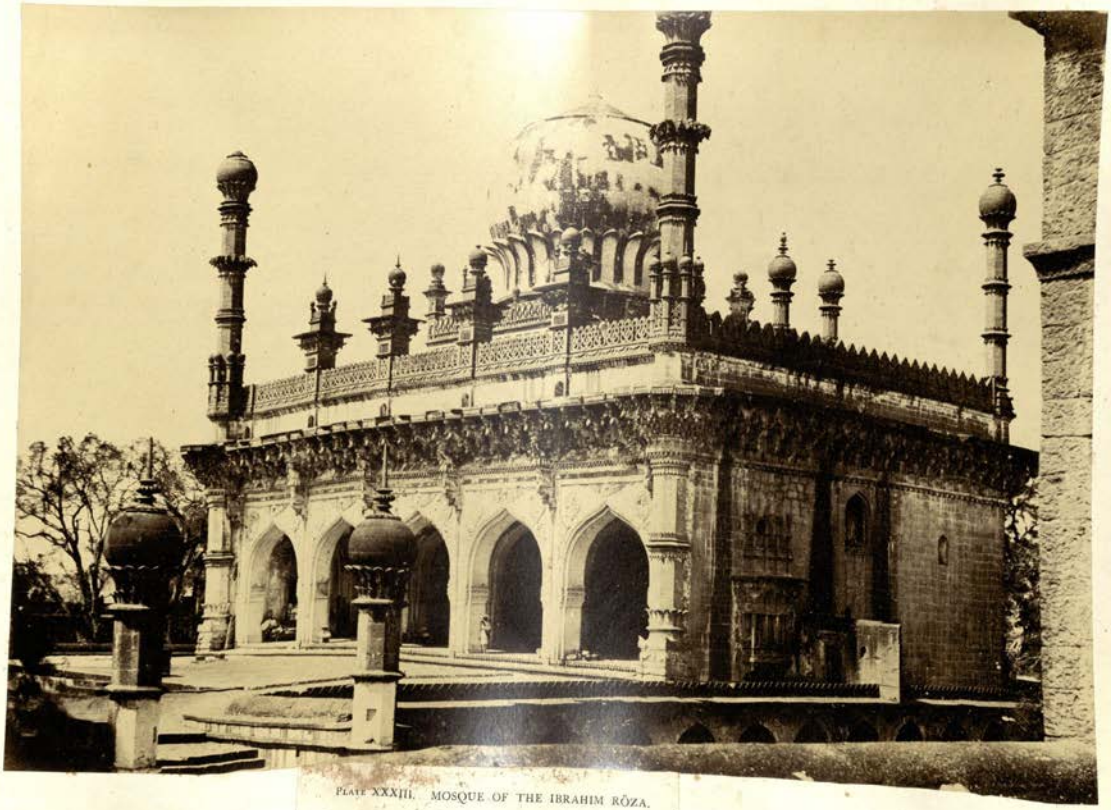


PLATE XXXIII. MOSQUE OF THE IBRAHIM RÔZA.

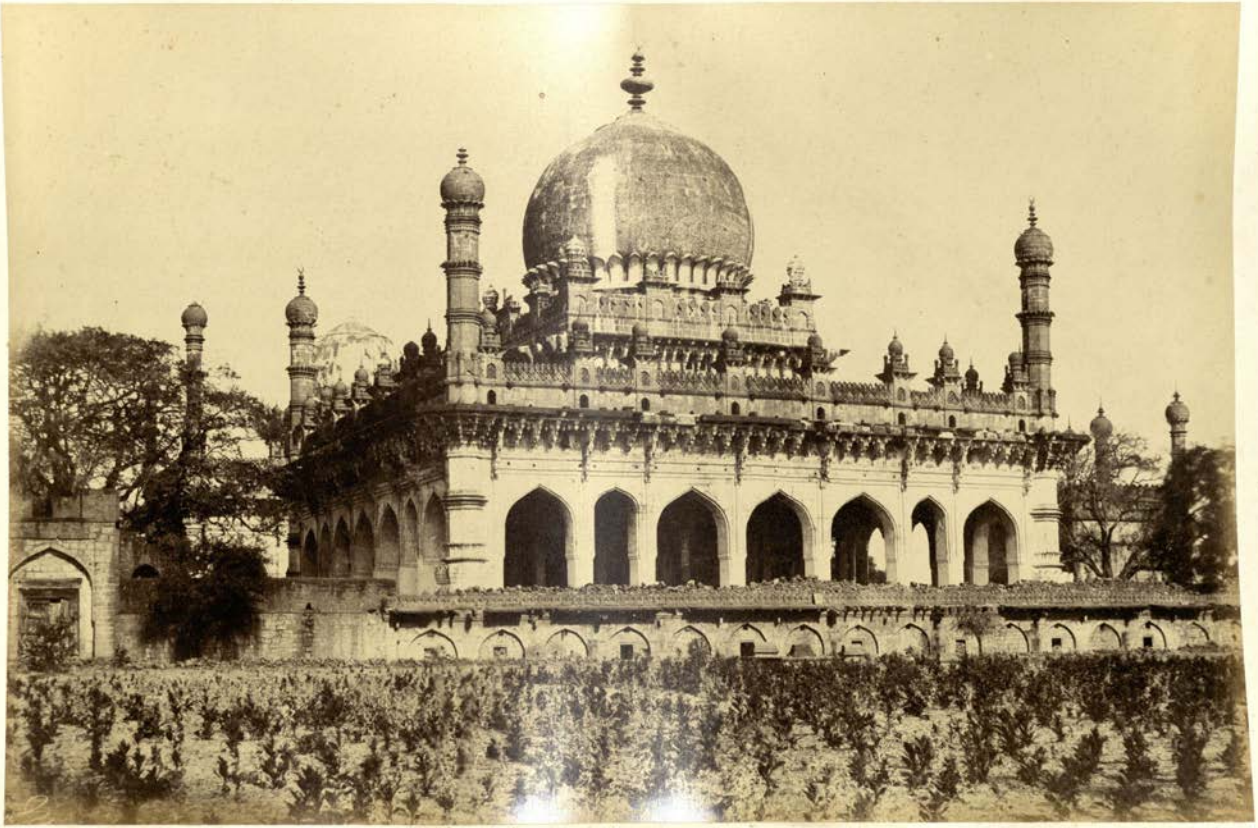


PLATE XXXIV. MAUSOLEUM OF THE IBRAHIM RÔZA.

PLANS and SECTIONS
of the
IBRAHEEM ROZA
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ELEVATION of WEST SIDE

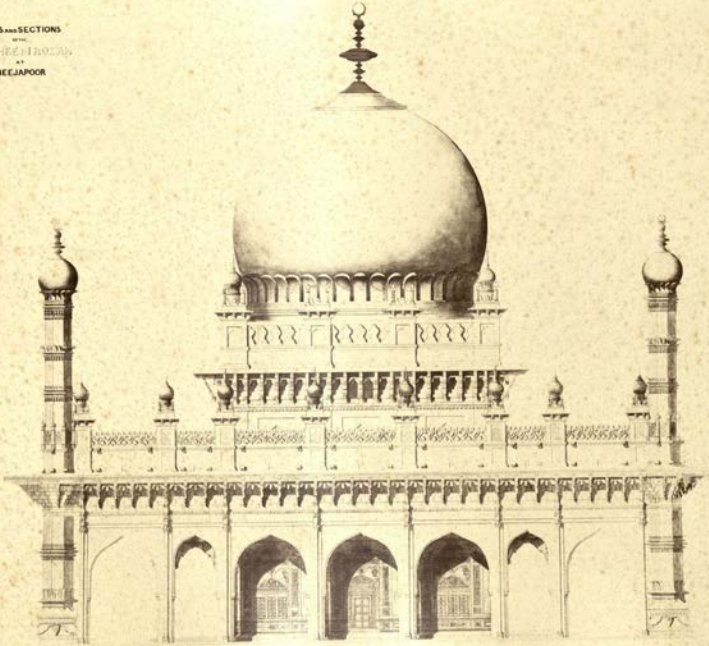


PLATE XXXV.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
IBRAHEEM ROZAH
AT
BEEJAPOOR

TRANSVERSE SECTION on line A B on Plan NORTH and SOUTH

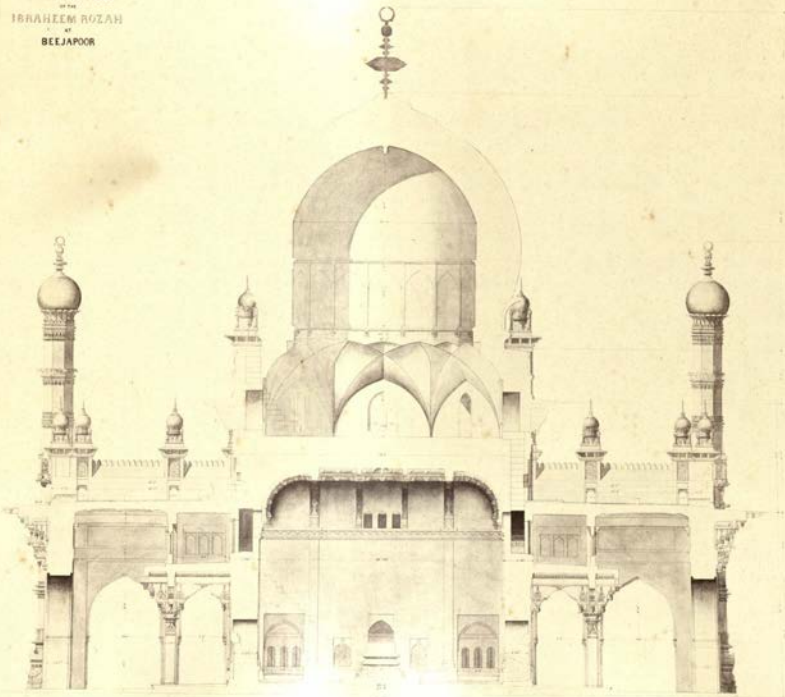


PLATE XXXVI

Plans and Sections of the **Ibraheem Rozah** at **Beejapoor**.

Section through Front Verandah on line C. D. on Plan showing South Face of Court.

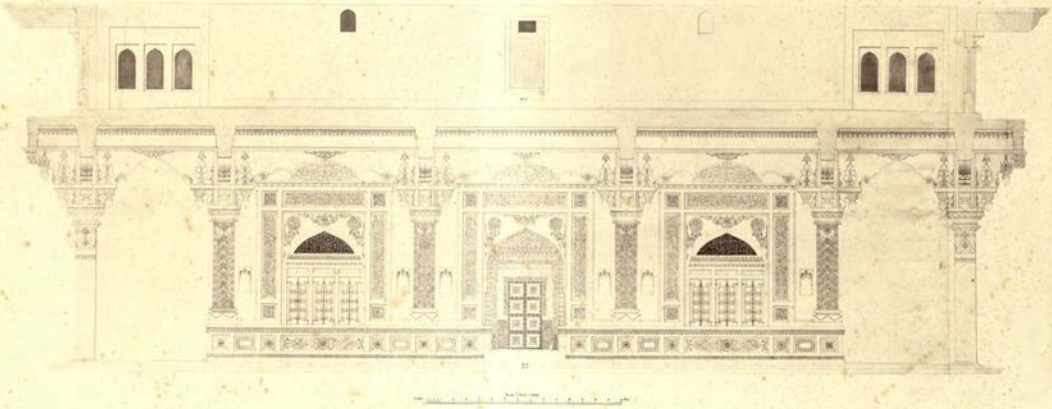
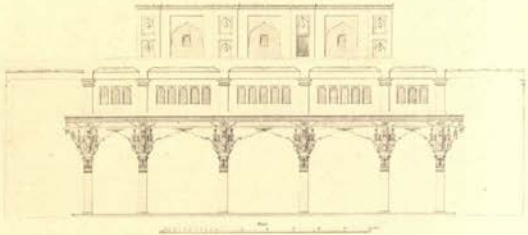


PLATE XXXVII.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
IBRAHEM ROZAH
AT
BEEJAPOOR



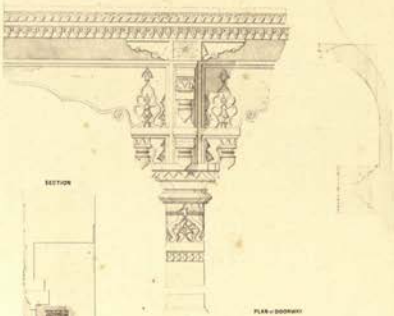


PLATE XXXVIII.

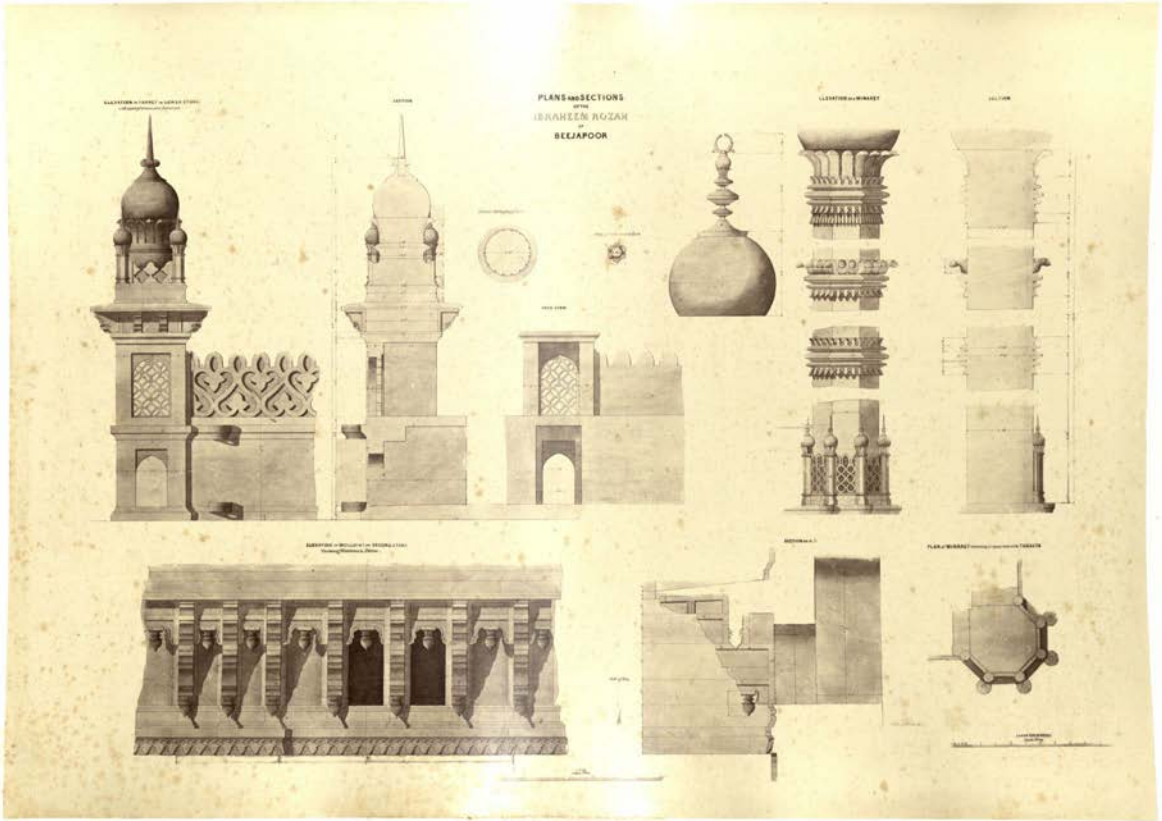


Plate XXXIX.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
IBRAHEEM ROZAH
AT
BEEJAPOOR

DETAILS OF CORNER PILLARS

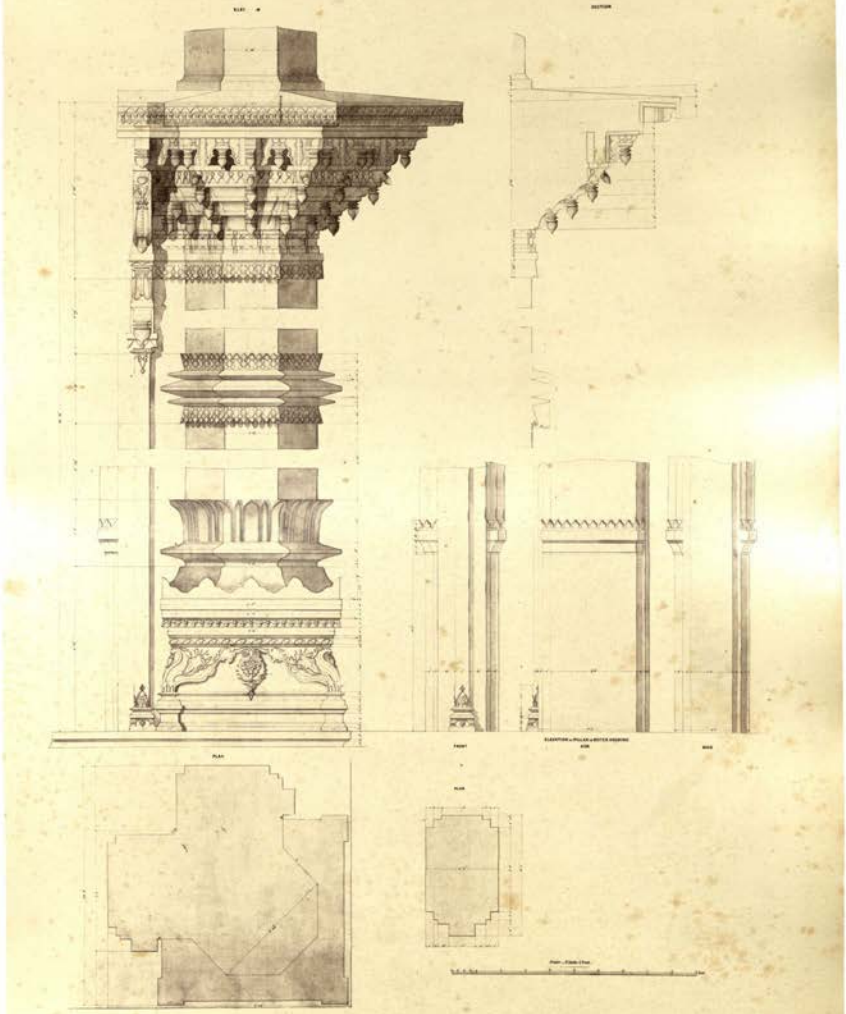


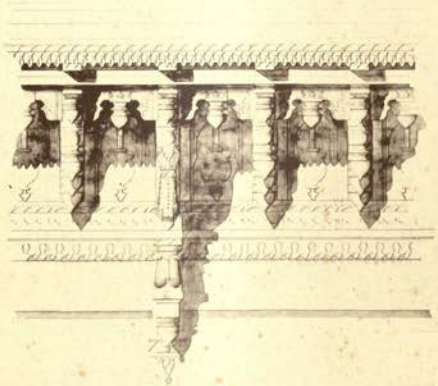
PLATE XL.

PLANS AND SECTIONS

AT

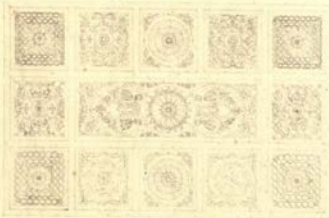
BEEJAPOOR

DETAIL DRAWING OF PRINCIPAL MOULDING

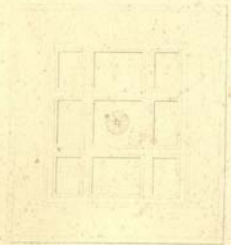


PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
IBRAHEEM ROZAH
AT
BEEJAPOOR

CEILINGS OF INNER VERANDAH



CEILINGS OF OUTER VERANDAH



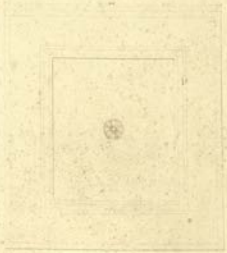
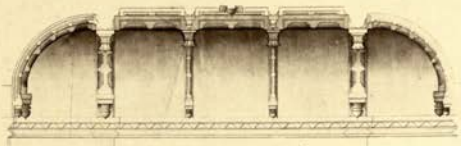


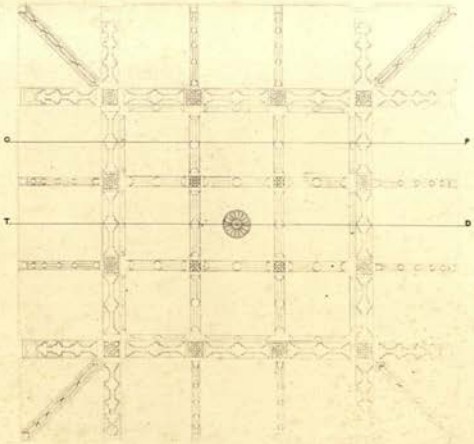
PLATE XLII.

PLANS and SECTIONS
of the
IBRAHIM KHAN'S TOMB
at
BEEJAPOOR

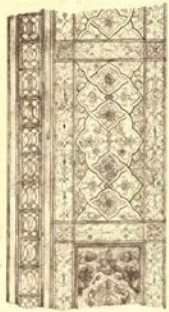
ORNAMENTAL FLAT CEILING of TOMB



PLAN of CEILING



PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
IBRAHEEM ROZAH
AT
BEEJAPOOR



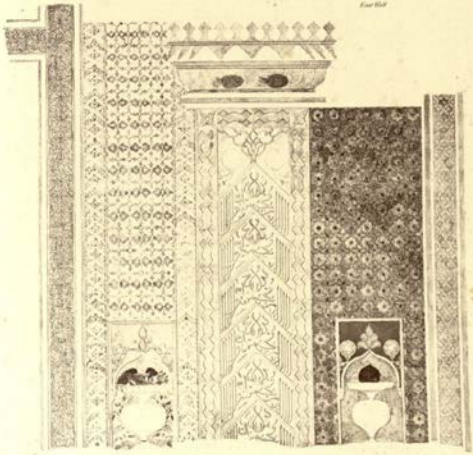


PLATE XLIV.

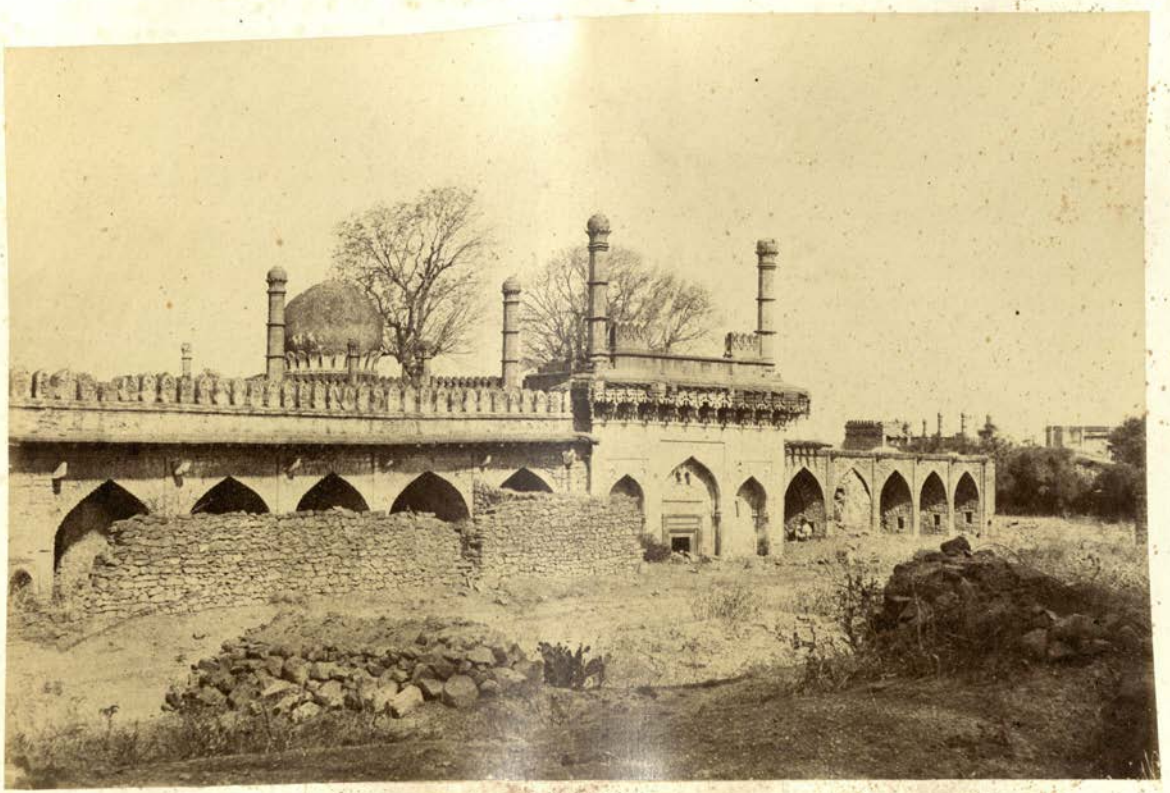


PLATE XLV. GATEWAY AND MOSQUE OF YAKOOT DABOOLI.

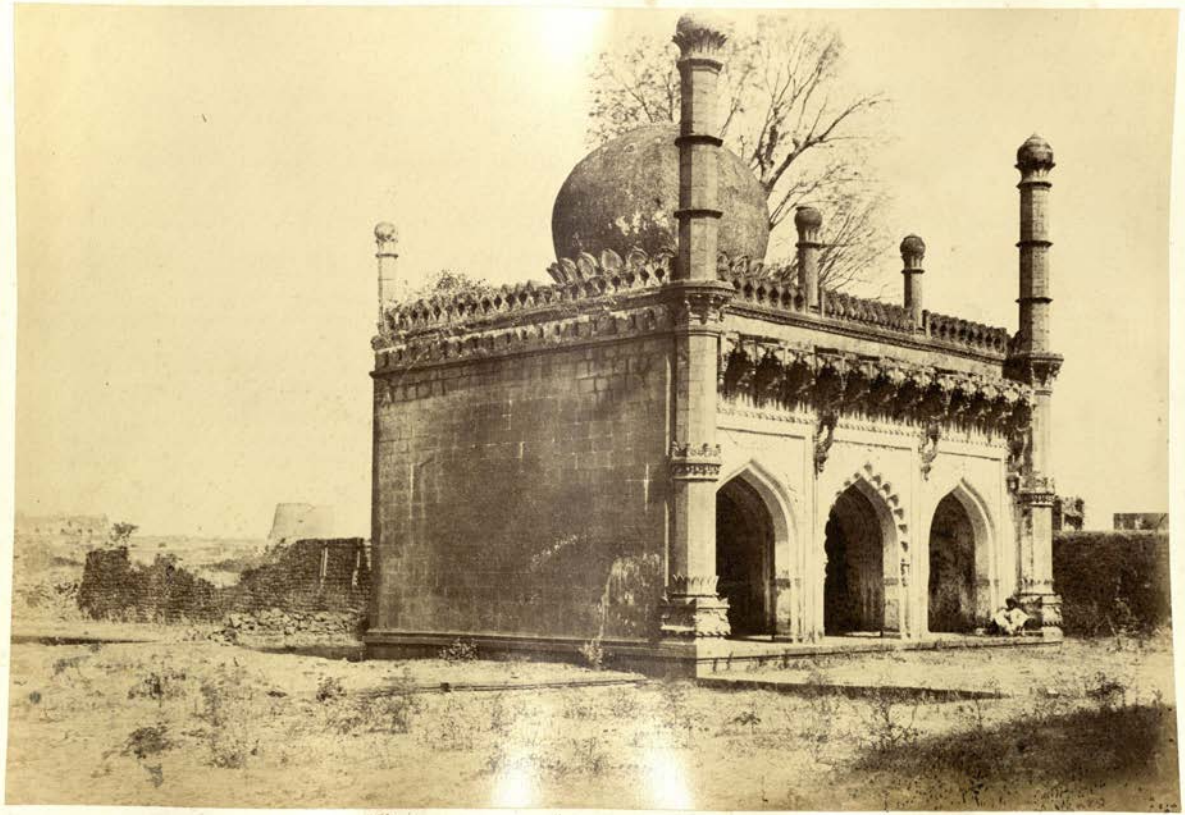
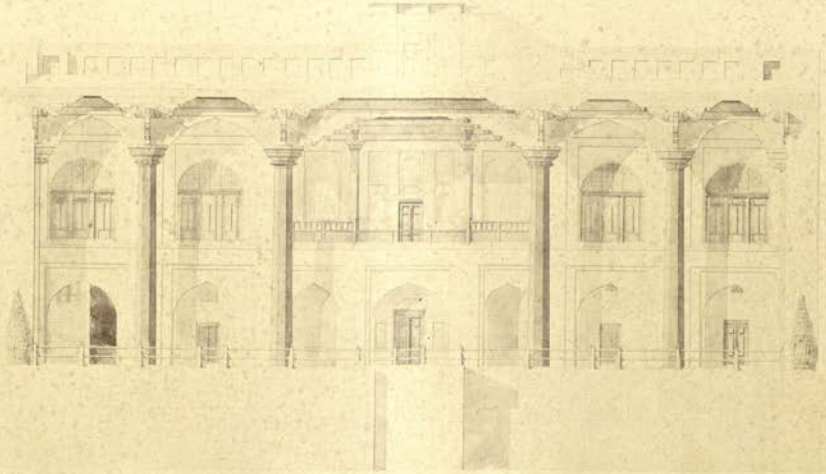


PLATE XLVI. MOSQUE OF YAKOOT DABOOLI.

PLATE XLVII. THE ASHAR MOBARAK. GENERAL VIEW.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
ASHAR MOOBARUCK
AT
BEEJAPOOR

FRONT ELEVATION



SCALE

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
ASHAR MOOBARUCK
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SIDE ELEVATION

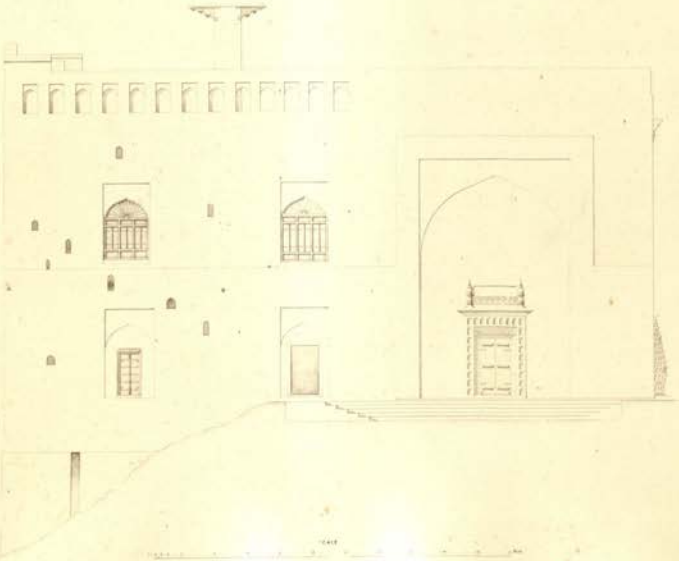
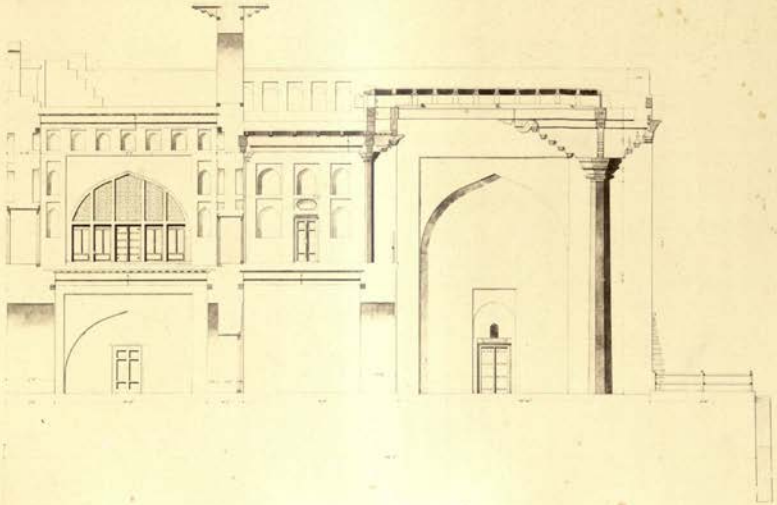


PLATE XLIX.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
ASRAR MOOBARUCK
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SECTION ON A.B.

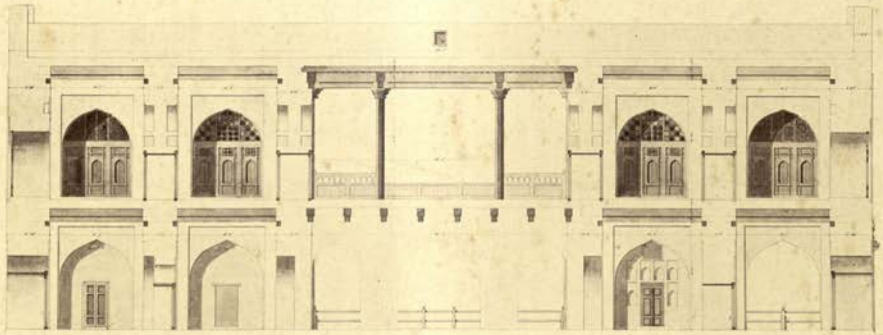


SCALE

PLATE I.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
ASHAR MOOBARUCK
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SECTION ON E. F



SCALE

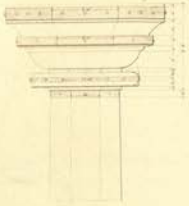
PLATE LI.

DETAILS

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
ASHAR MOOBARUCK
AT
BEEJAPOOR

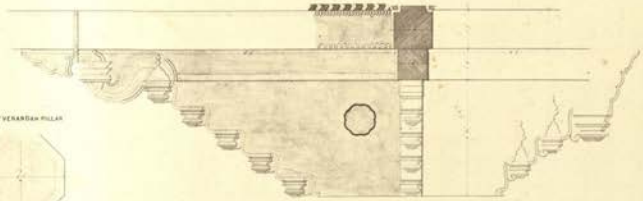
VERANDAH PILLAR

ELEVATION



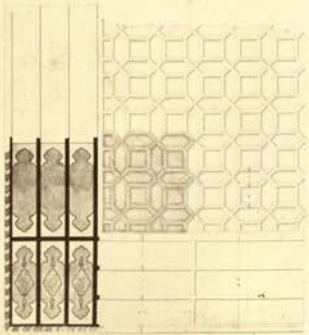
SECTION

TRANSVERSE BEAM AND BRACKET

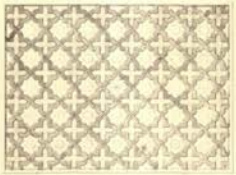


BASE OF VERANDAH PILLAR

CEILING OUTER VERANDAH

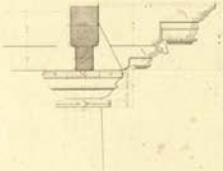


CEILING OF OUTER VERANDAH
CENTER PIECE



INNER AND CILDED VERANDAH

PILLAR AND BEAM



CEILING

BASE OF PILLAR

SCALE

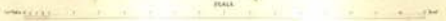
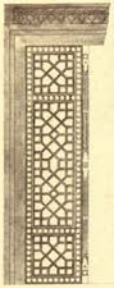


PLATE LII.

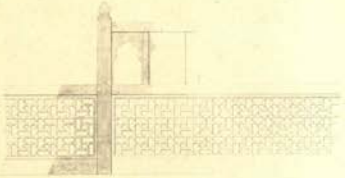
DETAILS

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
ASHAR MOOSBARUCK
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ELEVATION HALF OF DOOR LEADING FROM GILDED VERANDAH



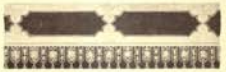
RAILING OF GILDED VERANDAH
FRONT



WINDOW IN BACK AND SIDES OF BUILDING

ELEVATION HALF OF DOOR LEADING FROM ROOM N°1

NICHES AND BEAM OF ROOM N°1



BEAM OF ROOM N°3
SHEWING PART OF WALL PAINTING

NICHE IN ROOM N°1

SCALE FOR WINDOW

SCALE FOR LOWER LINE OF DETAILS

SCALE FOR DOORS AND RAILING

PLATE LIII.

PLATE LIV. THE TAJ BOWREE. THE ENTRANCE.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
TAJ BOWREE
AT
BEEJAPOOR

SECTION ON CD

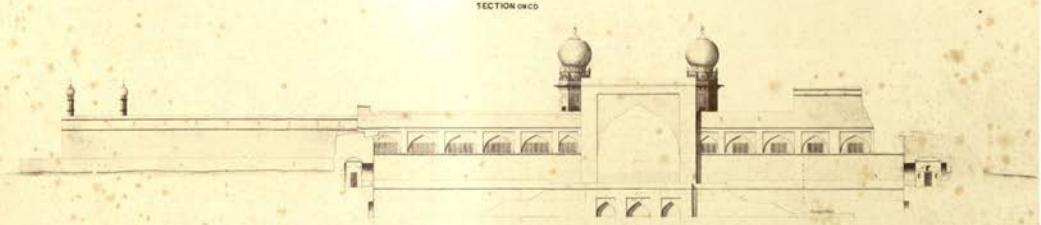


PLATE LV.

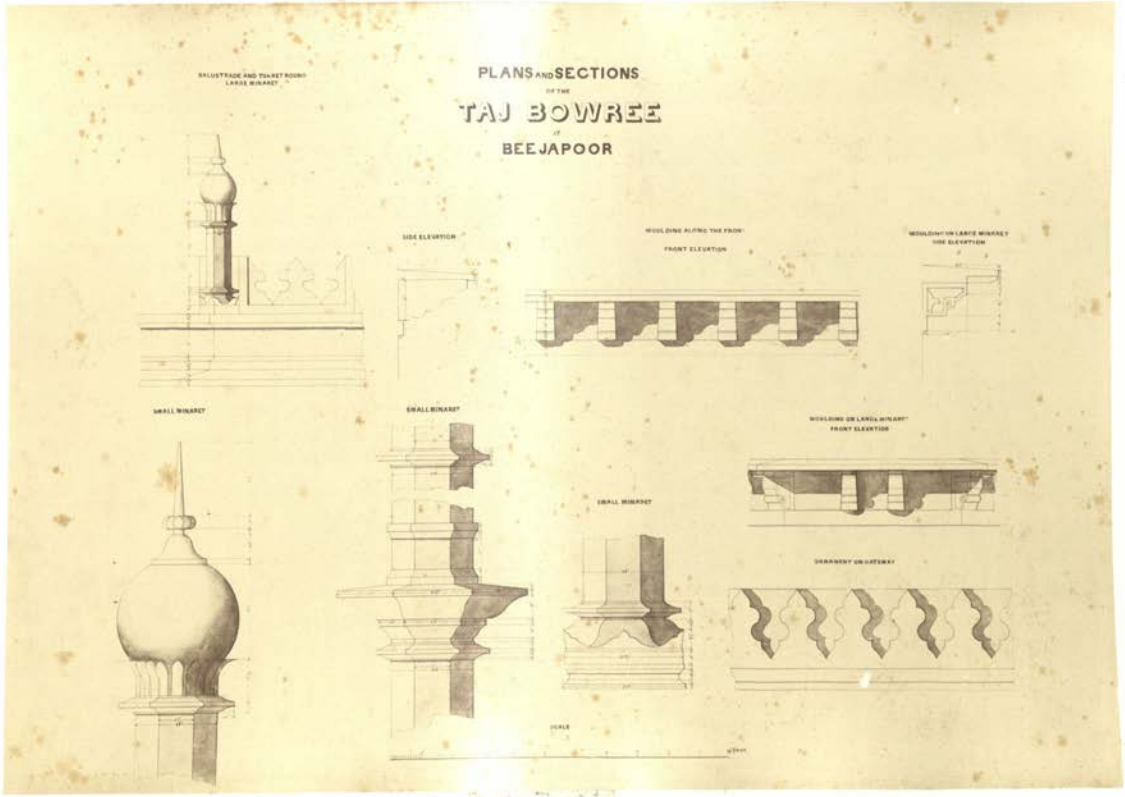
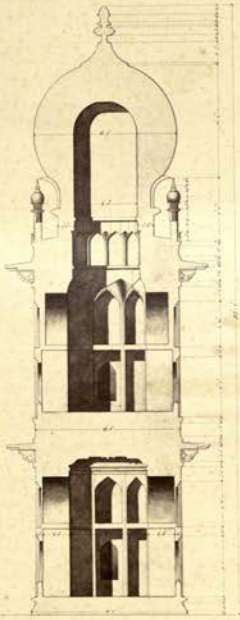

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
TAJ BOWREE
AT
BEEJAPOOR
BALUSTRADE AND TOP OF THE ROUND LARGE MINARET
SIDE ELEVATION
MOULDING ALONG THE FRONT
FRONT ELEVATION
MOULDING IN LARGE MINARET SIDE ELEVATION
SMALL MINARET
SMALL MINARET
MOULDING ON LARGE MINARET FRONT ELEVATION
SMALL MINARET
ORNAMENT ON GATEWAY
SCALE

PLATE LVI.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF THE
TAJ BOWREE
AT
BEEJAPOOR

ENLARGED SECTION OF A MINARET



SCALE

PLATE LVIII. THE SATH KHUNDI, OR PALACE OF SEVEN STORIES.

PLATE LIX. TOMBS OF LADIES OF THE ROYAL HAREM.

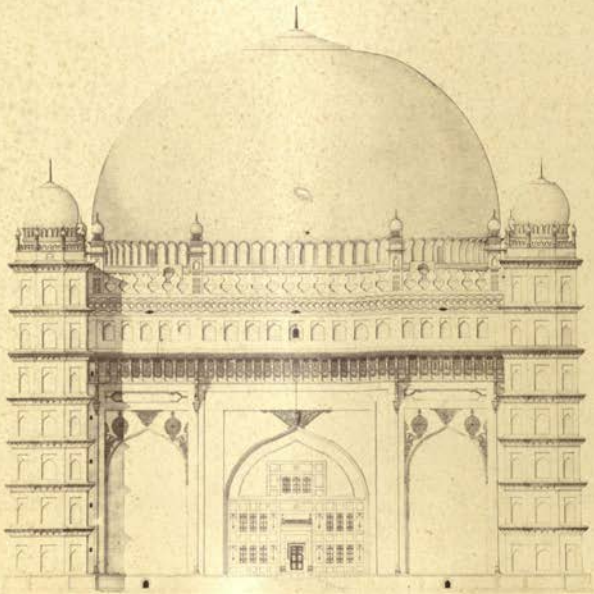
PLATE LX. THE GOL GOOMUZ. GENERAL VIEW.

PLANS, SECTIONS

THE GOL GOOMUZ

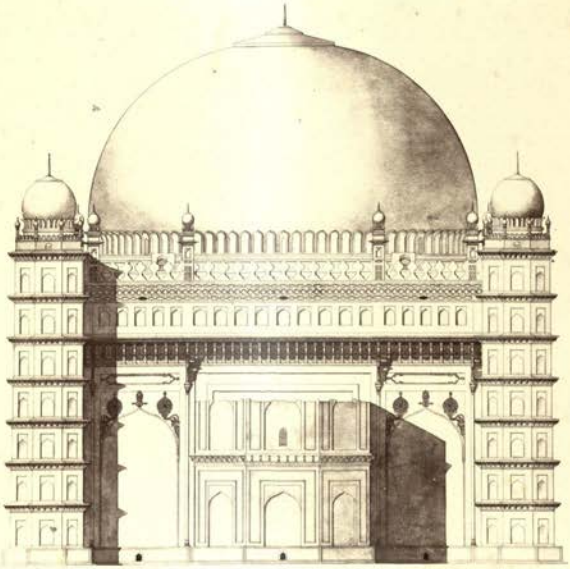
BEEJAPOOR

FRONT ELEVATION.



PLAN Elevation SECTIONS
OF
THE GOL GOOMUZ
AT
BEEJAPOOR

BACK ELEVATION



Scale

PLATE LXII.

PLAN AND SECTIONS
OF
THE GOL GOOMUZ
AT
BEEJAPOOR

TRANSVERSE SECTION from EAST to WEST on line C.D.

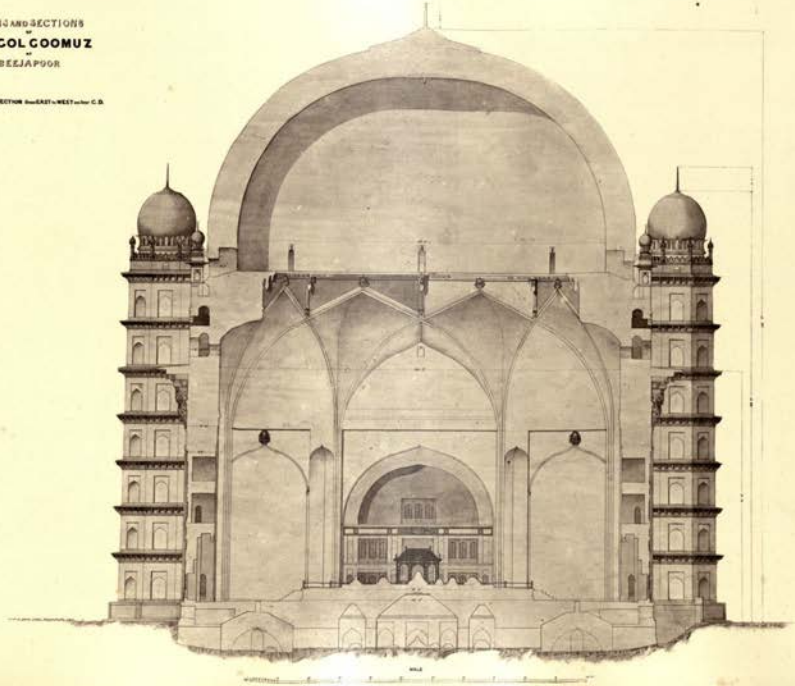


PLATE LXIII.

PLANS AND SECTIONS
OF
THE GOL GOOMUZ
AT
BEEJAPOOR

TRANSVERSE SECTION — SOUTH — NORTH — A.B.

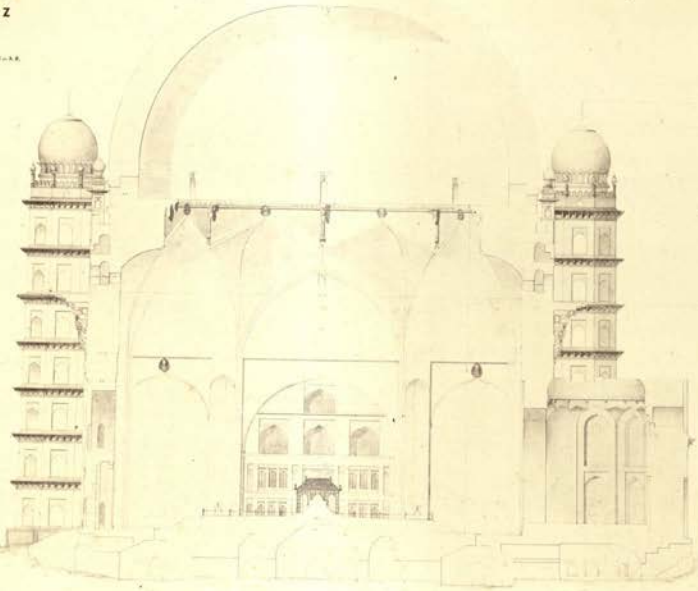


Plate LXIV.

PLATE LXV.

THE GOL GOOMUZ

DETAIL DRAWING OF THE PRINCIPAL MODILION

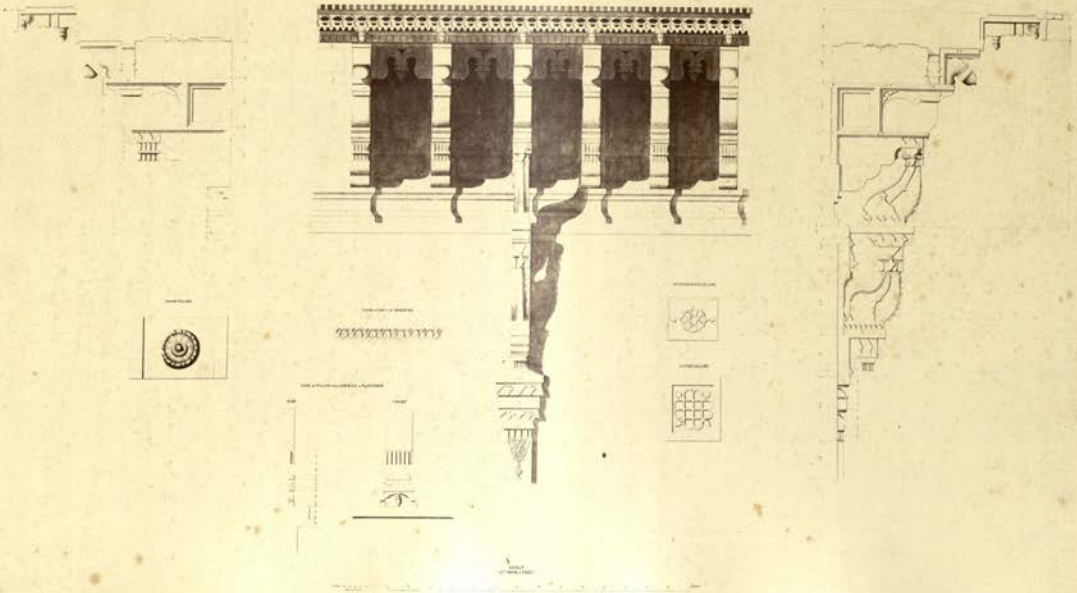
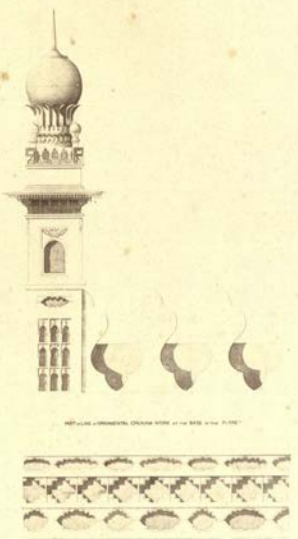


PLATE LXV.

THE GOLCOOMUZ



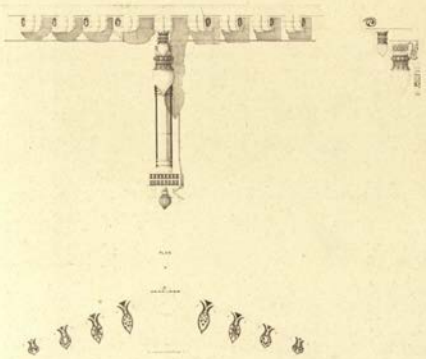


PLATE LXVI.

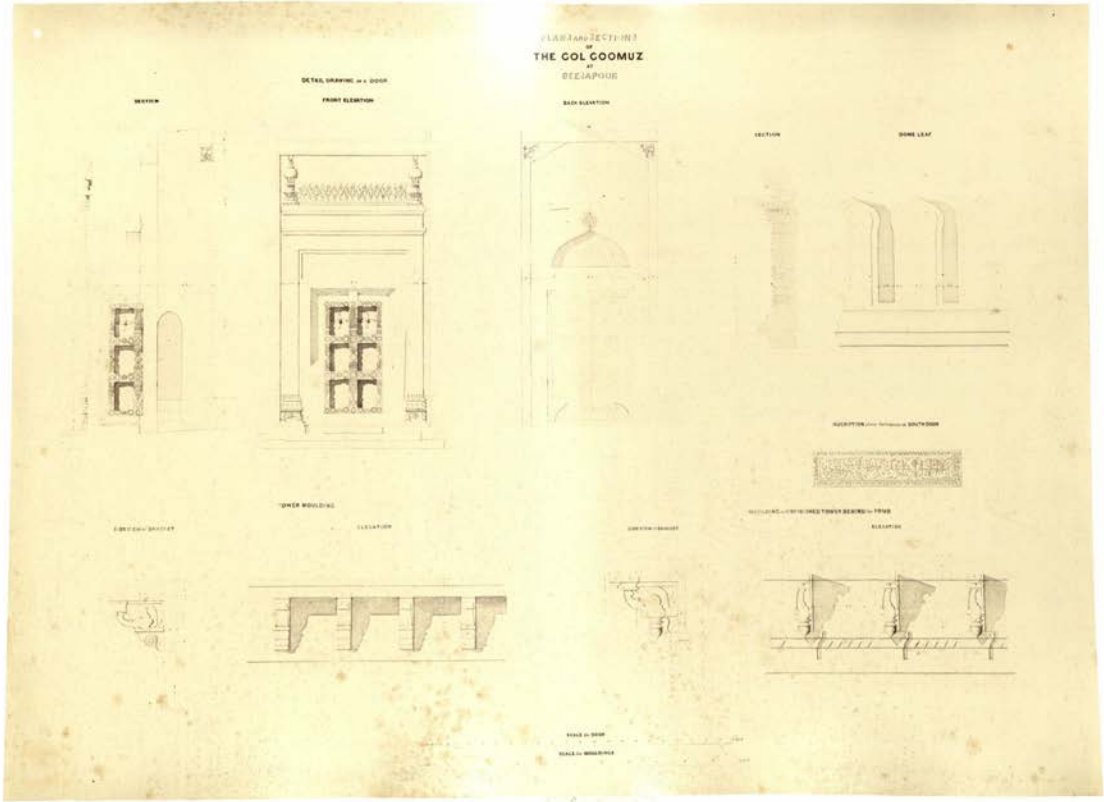

PLAN and SECTIONS
OF
THE GOL GOOMUZ
AT
BEEJAPOOR
DETAIL DRAWING on a DOOR
SECTION
FRONT ELEVATION
BACK ELEVATION
SECTION
DOME LEAF
SCULPTURE above Entrance at SOUTH DOOR
TOWER MOULDING
ELEVATION
ELEVATION

PLATE LXVII.

PLATE LXVIII. MAUSOLEUM OF BEGUM SAHIB.

PLATE LXIX. MAUSOLEUM OF KISHWUR KHAN AND HUZRUT SHAH AHMED.

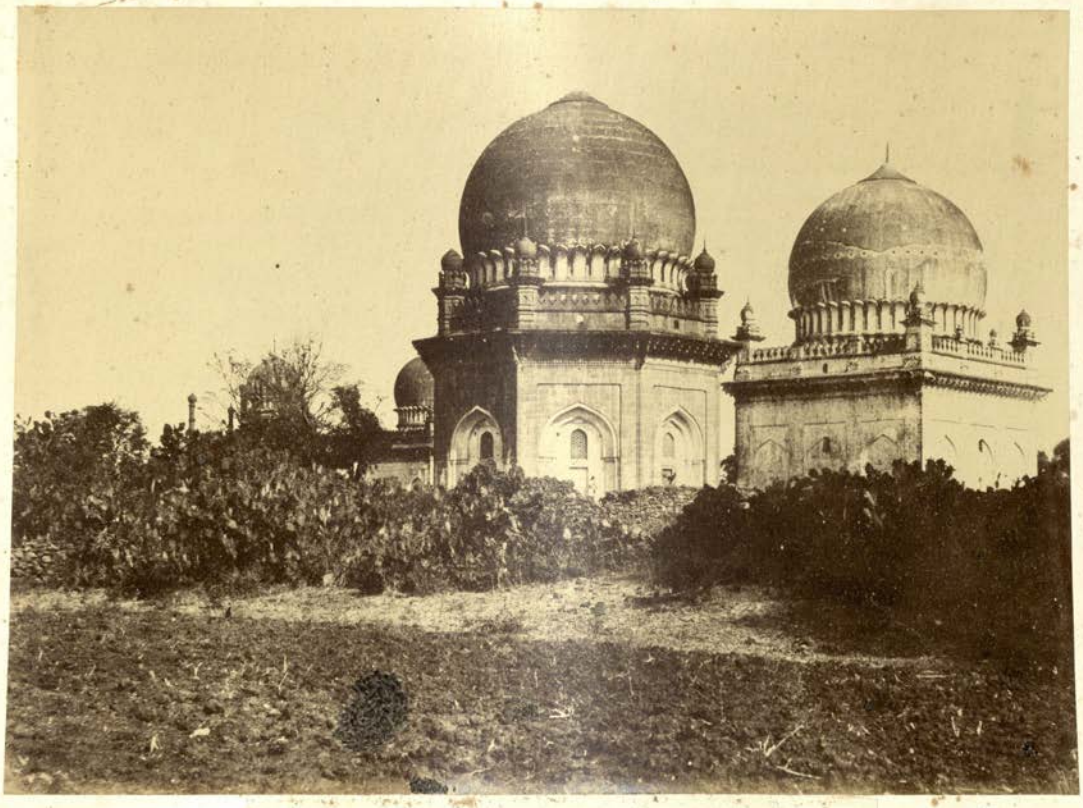


PLATE LXX. MAUSOLEUM OF KHOWAS KHAN AND HUZRUT ABDOOL RUZZAK

PLATE LXXI. TOMBS OF SAINTS, NAMES UNKNOWN.

PLATE LXXII. MOSQUE OF MOHAFIZ KHAN, OR ALUMGEER PADSHAH, IN THE CITADEL.

PLATE LXXIII. MOSQUE IN THE FORT.

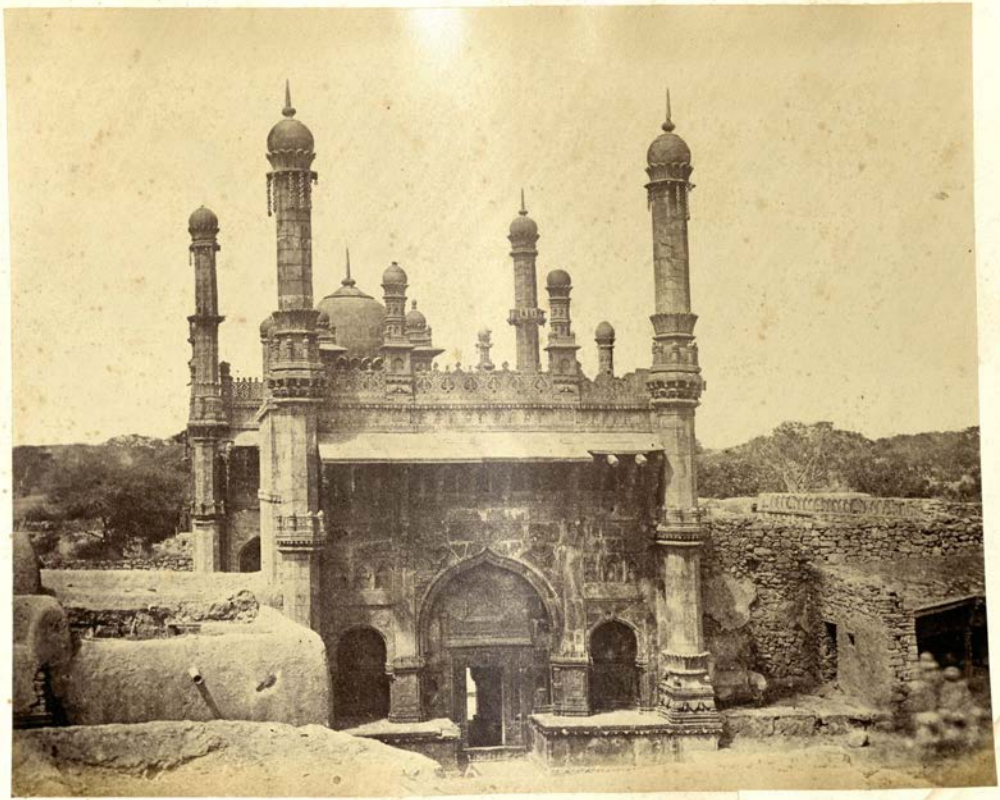


PLATE LXXIV. MOSQUE OF MUSAOOD KHAN, AT ADONI.

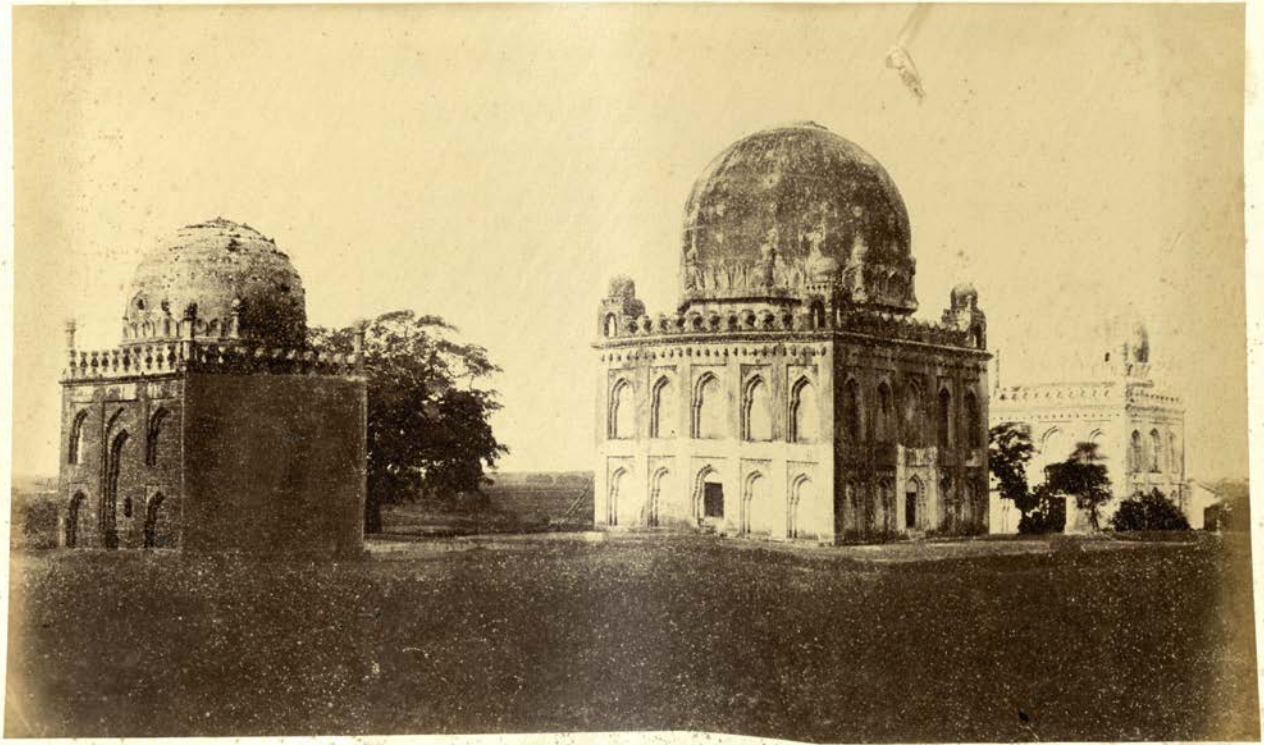


PLATE LXXV. MAUSOLEUM OF ASSUD KHAN, AT HOOKEDI, NEAR BELGAUM.

PLATE LXXVI. MOSQUE OF TIPPOO SULTAN AT SERINGAPATUM.

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